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ZERI I POPULLIT QUESTIONS HAIG VISIT TO SFRY

AU111007 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 11 Sep 81

["Why Is Haig Going to Belgrade?"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 11 Sep (ATA)--The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT publishes today an article which comments on the visit the U.S. secretary of state, Haig, will pay to the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia on September 12 and 13.

Right from the start the article stresses:

The question arises quite naturally: Why is the chief of the U.S. diplomacy coming to the Balkans and why does he reserve the first place of his visit to this region precisely to Yugoslavia?

The Balkans is in one of the most important strategic regions, it lies deeply in the waters of the Mediterranean, in the crossroad of sea routes linking Europe, Asia and Africa. Historically, the contradictions of the big powers, their hegemonic and colonialist ambitions have clashed here. The old empires were destroyed, but the new ones inherit the same ambitions. They again clash here with one another by hatching up intrigues and backstages. In their chancellories and headquarters they again are designing arrows on the maps of the Balkan Peninsula. As is seen, due to the situations created at present in Europe and its nearby areas, the article underlines, American imperialism is in need of the services of Belgrade.

Yugoslavia is undergoing a profound crisis, one of the deepest the bourgeois-revisionist world had experienced, stresses the article. Its situation, as the U.S. press itself admits, is almost the same with that of Poland. Inflation and unemployment are riding at a gallop there. The Yugoslav products, being unable to find markets in the West, are more and more directed to Eastern Europe. Plunged into debts, Yugoslavia sees in this a way out. In particular the Serb clan is more and more obviously orientating the country towards the Soviet Union also in the field of credits, but the Soviet possibilities are limited as compared with the great and urgent demands of the Yugoslav economy. The White House has studied this passing circumstance quite fairly. Those in Washington are aware that Yugoslavia has sold its soul to the West, that it has its head and heart there, but they also know that it has its body in the East, that, for the time being, it is economically linked more with the Soviet Union and COMECON. Haig comes to Belgrade to make use of the situation in service of the interests of American imperialism.

In the situation of crisis, U.S. imperialism has become still more aggressive. It has openly employed the slogan of establishing its hegemony in the world. Certainly, the Soviet social-imperialists do not stay with folded arms. Consequently, the Soviet-U.S. rivalries in the Middle East, in the Balkans and elsewhere have been further aggravated. The U.S. imperialists have recently undertaken a series of actions to strengthen their positions in the southeastern flank of NATO. On their part, the Soviet social-imperialists have strengthened their positions in the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty in the region, particularly in Bulgaria. In this passing circumstance, the superpowers attach great importance to the balance of forces in Yugoslavia. Each one of them works that the balance weigh down on its side. Haig, too, will do the same thing.

The U.S. secretary of state might promise credits and aids as well, the newspaper writes. Washington pays, but not for the incense of the Serb church and for the smoke of the candles of the Croatian-Slovenian one either. The dollars are openly given as a compensation so that the U.S. warships, these mobile military bases, hotbeds of aggression and blackmail, continue to enter the Yugoslav sea-ports.

The Yugoslav revisionists want to wear the mask of the nonaligned, even to pose themselves as leaders of the "non-aligned world" as well. The Americans, too, like this. "The movement of non-alignment" is actually undergoing a general crisis due to the confrontation between the pro-Soviet and pro-Western trends in it. They reflect the rivalries between the two superpowers to expand their spheres of influence in various countries, elbowing one another. The Yugoslavs have done their utmost so far so that the pro-Soviet trend must not take completely the initiative in its hands.

The Americans pay for the assurances the Yugoslavs will give them in continuation of this role so that the balance of forces should not change in favour of the Soviets.

The concern of the U.S.A. is that the Yugoslavs preach far and wide the submission of others to its neo-colonialist policy as well as to other endless international organisms it has created. There is no doubt that Haig's visit will be used in particular by the Yugoslav side to praise in speeches and communiques the special responsibilities of the U.S.A. as a great power with regard to the destinies of peace and security in the world, "disarmament", "detente", etc. Such a policy nurtures illusions that the destinies of mankind depend decisively on the terms and agreements among the superpowers, because they alone can establish order in the world.

During Haig's visit and in the meetings with him, Belgrade, which is collaborating and plotting with the Kremlin, will try to conceal its links with the Russians, to show itself that it is in maximum pro the U.S.A. in order to receive as much as possible from it. Serbs themselves are interested in that. They aim at establishing their full hegemony over the federation. They seek to achieve it through the centralization of economic, political and military power in their hands. Their weakness as compared with their Croatian-Slovenian rivals consists in their inferior economic positions. By centralizing the powers, the Serbs account that the credits which will be taken be used to fill in the economic gap,to strengthen Serbia economically, so that the latter, proceeding from these positions, be able to speak with another language with its rivals for hegemony within the federation.

The Yugoslav leaders will use Haig's visit not only to take another economic credit from America, but also to heighten somewhat the badly shaken authority of Yugoslavia in the international arena, to show that they are still able to make a great policy.

Undoubtedly, during Haig's visit to Belgrade, the Russians will prick up their ears. They have a long practice of rapprochements and cold shoulders, embraces and coolness with the Yugoslav revisionists, which have continuously served the two superpowers, but always serving more to the one that has paid them more. Plunged in crisis, the Soviet socialimperialists have it even more difficult to pay for the crisis in Poland, inYugoslavia, to pay for the invasion of Afghanistan, etc. Under these conditions, Haig's visit will be followed with doubts in Moscow. This incites the Soviets to try to more effectively play the Serb card within the federation. And, if need be, they will bring to circulation the Macedonian card by inciting Bulgaria to cast it on the table.

In this way, under the patronage of the superpowers, "the sick of the Balkans", the article of ZERI I POPULLIT concludes, pursues such a policy, which leads to the creation of dangerous tensions and serious consequences to the peoples of the region, to the peoples of Yugoslavia itself, to peace and security on the continent.

BRIEFS

DISTRICT COMMEMORATION MEETING--The 38th anniversary of the national liberation struggle of Rec village was celebrated in Shkoder District. Among those present were thousands of workers and cooperativists, ex-partisans, martyrs' families, soldiers, school children and others. Also taking part were Manush Myftiu, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and district party and state cadres. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the AWP Central Committee, Council of Ministers, General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front, the district's AWP committee, Executive Committee of People's Council and mass organizations. Manush Myftiu greeted the meeting on behalf of the AWP Central Committee, Council of Ministers, General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front and Comrade Enver Hoxha. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 6 Sep 81 AU]

KUWAITI AMIR AS-SABAH ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL VISIT

Radio Covers Arrival

AU100942 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at about 0900 GMT on 10 September 1981 carries a live relay, intercepted in progress, on the arrival of Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of Kuwait, at Sofia airport. The amir of Kuwait is paying an official, friendly visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council.

At 0903 GMT the official aircraft from Kuwait is reported landing at Sofia airport and Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, greets Amir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, after which the two heads of state are reported reviewing an honor guard. A military band plays the two national anthems and military marches. The announcer frequently interrupts his report with statements on the general situation in the Middle East, expressing hopes for fruitful talks between the amir and Todor Zhivkov. After the official ceremony, Todor Zhivkov accompanies his guests to the airport building, where the motorcade will start for Sofia city. The live relay from Sofia airport ends at 0905 GMT.

Meets Zhivkov, Diplomats

AU101531 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] On 10 September the leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia, led by Gilbert de Dardel, dean of the diplomatic corps and ambassador of Switzerland, paid their respects to Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of Kuwait. The ceremony, which took place at the Boyana Residence, was attended by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, and responsible officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as by the officials accompanying the amir of Kuwait.

Later, the amir of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, loyal son of the Bulgarian people and a noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement, and paid his respects at his coffin.

In the afternoon, his excellency the amir of Kuwait visited Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman. In a friendly atmosphere the two leaders discussed matters pertaining to bilateral cooperation and the international situation.

'Stara Planina' Order

AU101940 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 10 Sep (BTA)--Today Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of Kuwait, was decorated with the "Stara Planina" on Ribbon Order - Bulgaria's highest award conferred on foreigners.

The order which was conferred on him by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, is given on the occasion of his official visit to Bulgaria and his contribution to the consolidation of Bulgaro-Kuwaiti relations.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, State Council president, gave formal dinner for the amir of Kuwait.

Talks Begin

AU101941 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 10 Sep (BTA)--The formal talks of Mr Todor Zhivkov, State Council president, and Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of Kuwait, began here today.

During the talks which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, high esteem was made of the previous development of the relations between Bulgaria and Kuwait.

The mutual desire was expressed to make further efforts for deepening the cooperation in a number of fields such as the economy, tourism, transport and trade.

Matters of the international situation were reviewed and on many of them identity or similarity of views were found. Special attention was paid to the situation in the near and Middle East. The two parties to the talks expressed their determination to make every possible effort to preserve the world peace.

The following officials attended the talks on the Bugarian side: Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Milko Balev, chief of Mr Todor Zhivkov's cabinet, Mr Mitko Grigorov, vice president of the State Council, Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, Mr Veselin Nikiforov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank, Mr Asen Zlatanov, Bulgarian ambassador to Kuwait.

The Kuwaiti side is represented by: Mr Jasim Khalid al-Marzuq, minister of trade and industry, Mr 'Abd al-Latif Yusuf al-Hamad, minister of finance and planning, Mr Rashid ar-Rashid, under-secretary of foreign affairs, Mr (Mohammed Darvish al-Aradi), undersecretary of the [word indistinct], Mr Ibrahim Mohammed ash-Shatti, director of the Amiri Diwan, [Office which issues royal decrees] Mr Sa'ud 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Humaydi, the Kuwaiti ambassador to Bulgaria, Mr (Khalid al-Babtay), official of the Political Department with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Mr (Mohammed Meshari al-Hasayn), representative of "Kuwait Supply Company."

ZHIVKOV, OTHERS GREET VIETNAM ON NATIONAL DAY

AU041640 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Sep 81 pp 1, 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, to Truong Chinh, chairman of the Vietnamese Council of State and to Premier Pham Van Dong.

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the Bulgarian people and on our own behalf, we convey to the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, to the SRV State Council and Government as well as to all fraternal Vietnamese people and to you, personally, our most sincere congratulations and wishes on the occasion of the national holiday of the SRV.

Throughout the last 30 years, the people of Vietnam, under the leadership of their tested vanguard, the Vietnamese Communist Party, in fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the peoples of the socialist community, with the solidarity and support of the progressive public throughout the world succeeded in defending their right of free existence and development, succeeded in uniting their divided motherland and achieved historical successes in building a peaceful, united and socialist Vietnam. The attempts of imperialism and Maoism to prevent this upsurge have utterly failed as have their attempts to undermine the unity and militant alliance of the peoples in the three countries of Indochina: Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

The Bulgarian people welcome with all their hearts the successes of the Vietnamese people in their economy and culture and in their country's socialist innovation, as well as in the defense of their sovereignty and territorial integrity and in the further consolidation of the SRV--the outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia and the indefatigable champion of peace, security and cooperation in Asia throughout the world.

We are particularly glad to note that the relations of fraternal friendship, solidarity and close cooperation between our parties and peoples, built upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are making constant and comprehensive progress in the spirit of the friendship and cooperation treaty signed between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

On the occasion of the national holiday of fraternal Vietnam, we wish the Vietnamese communists and all the working people of Vietnam great new successes in building socialism, in defending the motherland and in worthily greeting the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

May the indestructible friendship between Bulgaria and Vietnam strengthen and prosper.

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV GREET COUNTERPARTS IN DPRK

AU081546 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 8 Sep (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Grisha Filipov have sent to Mr Kim Il-song and Mr Yi Chong-ok a message of greetings on the 33rd anniversary of the proclamation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

"The establishment of the workers and peasants' rule on the Korean land resulting from the liberation mission of the Soviet Army in the Far East and of the self-sacrificing revolutionary struggle of the people of Korea headed by the communists has revealed a new epoch in the history of Korea", the message reads in part.

The past decades have been years of trials and heroism for the Korean people, of radical social reforms and selfless work in the name of socialism. Thanks to the heroism and the patriotic endurance of the Korean people, of the leading role of the Workers' Party of Korea, of the international assistance and backing rendered by the socialist system and the solidarity of the whole peace-loving mankind, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has ranked among the countries with a developed industry and agriculture, with considerable achievements made in the sphere of education, culture and the national welfare.

"Loyal to the principles of the proletarian internationalism, Bulgaria's communists and working people render their support to the struggle of the Korean people for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from South Korea's territory, for establishing a peaceful unification of the country on a democratic basis," the message reads further on. The Bulgarian leaders express their satisfaction with the development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Workers' Party of Korea, between Bulgaria and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, between the two peoples, reaffirming their confidence in their further deepening and expanding in the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, for strengthening the peace, for the triumph of socialism and communism.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON MEETING HELD ON NATIONAL DAY

AU081601 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1400 GMT on 8 September carries a live relay of the festive meeting at Sofia's Georgi Kirkov Hall, marking the 37th anniversary of the 9 September 1944 revolution in Bulgaria. The announcer identifies the following leaders as attending: "Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov. Nikita Tolubeyev, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, also attended the meeting."

RUDE PRAVO NOTES DZUR AT ZAPAD-81 MANEUVERS

AU101240 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 9 September on page 7 carries a 280-word "CTK, ZR"-signed Moscow dispatch entitled "The Zapad-81 Exercise Continues." The dispatch first notes that "a Soviet Army exercise, called Zapad-81, is currently being held on the territory of the Belorussian and Baltic Military Districts and in the eastern part of the Baltic Sea." It then mentions that "some 100,000 soldiers" are taking part in the "exercise" and cites a TASS report on the 8 September activities of the troops involved in it. Finally, the dispatch lists the socialist countries' high-ranking military officials, including CSSR Minister of National Defense Dzur, who attend the maneuvers at the invitation of Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov.

COMMENTATORS DENOUNCE POLISH SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

'Antisocialist Forces' Attend

LD101810 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Correspondent Frantisek Sojka dispatch from Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Text] The discussion on augmenting the Solidarity statute is still continuing, even now. The incredibly protracted debate has even made Lech Walesa nervous. He has spoken twice in the debate. Raising his voice, he asked for order and a constructive course in the congress deliberations. His remarks showed clearly that inside Solidarity a sharp power struggle is taking place in which the deputies are given the role of common infantrymen. It was not by accident that Walesa spoke of manipulation when he was forced to admit that the congress has not contributed anything so far. He also added that he would not even stop at using dictatorial methods to achieve the goals he is pursuing and to overcome growing clashes within Solidarity.

Later one of the participants in the discussion declared realistically that even now, during the discussion on the statutes, an unyielding struggle has started for the foremost positions in the leadership. The organizers of the Solidarity congress, as well as the deputies, are clearly embarrassed by the obvious fact that even after 6 days of deliberations it has not proved possible to present to the public any concrete results and that people in enterprises ask quite justifiably what the congress in Gdansk is about. The answer which they would not get is obvious: the Solidarity congress is an opportunity for a meeting of all antisocialist forces of all possible hues, including the so-called "KOR"--the Confederation for an Independent Poland--which are striving to create a joint program to take over power in Poland.

'Confrontation' Necessary

LD101802 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Commentary by Stefan Babiak entitled: "Gross Provocation on the Part of the Solidarity Union]

[Text] The congress of the Solidarity union in Gdansk has proved once again that this allegedly independent organization is now manipulated by forces openly seeking confrontation. Mr (?Palka), a delegate from Lodz, said for example: The government cannot go any further. We have gained all the concessions we actually could obtain. Since the agreement with the government signed in Warsaw last month we have been stagnating. We now have to accept the challenge and plunge ourselves into confrontation, cost what it may.

Indeed, confrontation there will be as indicated by the release of a document the union proudly calls Solidarity's message to the nations of Eastern Europe, in which Walesa's counterrevolutionary organization urges similar circles in other socialist countries to follow suit and join forces in a massive antisocialist drive.

Obviously the Solidarity bosses think it is time to launch a frontal attack against the working class of the socialist community which, as stressed in today's edition of the Polish party newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU, is a guarantee of Poland's independence. What Solidarity calls today confrontation is therefore to be directed against the Soviet Union and its allies whose assistance, TRYBUNA LUDU writes, is essential if Poland's catastrophic downhill slide is to be stopped.

As early as the summer of 1980 it was plain to see that Solidarity (?existed) as a coverup for those forces inside Poland whose aim it was to do away with socialism in that country. This has been proved convincingly over the year or so of Solidarity's existence. All the activities carried out by the Walesa-headed union follow a single objective to seize power in Poland. In this Solidarity enjoys unqualified support of Western reactionaries of every hue and description, ranging from America's rightist AFL-CIO labor federation--whose delegates top the list of the foreign guests at the Gdansk congress--to Western spy centers and West German revanchists, right through to the Vatican. REUTERS reports that Pope John Paul's enthusiasm over the Solidarity union has never been more sincere than it is now.

The so-called message to the nations of Eastern Europe testifies to the fact that Solidarity has long ceased to be just a tool with which to erode the socialist system in Poland alone. Solidarity is now extending its feelers across the Polish borders in what might be described as just another massive anticommunist drive against the socialist states.

'Exporting Counterrevolution'

LD100834 Prague CTK in English 0800 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Prague, 10 Sep (CETEKA)--"The participants in the 'Solidarity' congress did not content themselves with arrogance and offences against the Polish Government; they also staged a rude provocation against the working class in other socialist countries, the daily RUDE PRAVO said today.

It pointed out that in its ostentatious "message to the nations of Eastern Europe" 'Solidarity' presented itself almost as an example for other countries. "At the same time it gave the rudest offences to everything that was and is the matter of the highest honour for the people of our republic and other fraternal nations," the daily said and added: "Not to speak of the fact that this attempt at exporting counterrevolution will end nowhere but in a dustbin, this rudeness only proves again that that 'Solidarity' congress is a meeting not only of extremely reactionary but also most politically irresponsible elements."

Solidarity Interference

LD100847 Prague CTK in English 0819 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Bratislava, 10 Sep (CETEKA)--"The Gdansk congress of the 'Solidarity' is characterized by sharp antistate and antiparty attacks," the Slovak daily PRAVDA said today adding that "the Polish United Workers' Party and the government are thus facing an enemy capable of anything."

"Solidarity" does not hesitate to break constitutional laws and incites the whole society to do the same. Moreover, it openly attacks Poland's bonds of alliance and the "arrogance of its leaders exceeds Poland's borders," the daily said and recalled that "there were voices heard from the 'Solidarity' congress tribune which cannot be explained but as an interference in internal affairs of other socialist states."

Such voices can sound pleasantly to those seeking to seize political power in Poland but in fact lead the country to a blind alley. "To find a way out will not be easy," PRAVDA said stressing that concessions to counterrevolution will certainly not be the right way.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON GUSTAV HUSAK VISIT TO LIBYA

Husak 7 Sep Dinner Speech

LD081842 Prague CTK in English 1748 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Tripoli, 8 Sep (CETEKA correspondent)--Czechoslovakia's solidarity with the Libyan Jamahiriyah was pointed out by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak at a dinner given by Libyan Revolution Leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi for his Czechoslovak guests here last night.

"I should like here to reiterate our firm solidarity with your country at a time when imperialist forces, and especially the United States, are stepping up aggression against independent states and grossly interfering in their internal affairs in an effort to further worsen the already complex international situation," Gustav Husak stressed. "This is also proved by the recent armed aggression against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah which is an example of the dangerous political course of the U.S. administration threatening world peace."

In the present sharpened international situation it is particularly urgent to strengthen the unity of progressive anti-imperialist forces. It is necessary to continue building and strengthening the bridges of friendship between states of the socialist community and Arab progressive forces. The present development in the world, when our common enemies are exerting great efforts to disrupt the firm ties of solidarity, friendship, cooperation, support and assistance which have come to exist between states of the socialist community and the African and Asian countries, prove the acuteness of this task, Gustav Husak emphasized.

Speaking about Czechoslovak-Libyan relations, Gustav Husak expressed satisfaction with their favourable development in the political, economic, cultural and other fields.

These relations are based on the principles of equality, mutual benefits, respect and non-interference in internal affairs, and both countries are guided in their development by the principles of peaceful cooperation of states, joint peace effort, independence and freedom of nations.

Gustav Husak noted that the two countries can well complement each other in their economies, and therefore we want to further develop economic cooperation on a long-term basis and seek new possibilities of its promotion, he said.

In foreign policy, Gustav Husak went on to say, Czechoslovakia works for a constructive and just political settlement of open international problems. The Czechoslovak people reject with indignation all steps aimed at causing tension in Europe and demand adoption of efficient measures to strengthen peace and security in this sensitive part of the world.

We firmly support a just and comprehensive Middle East settlement respecting the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to create its own state. A way out of the dangerous situation in the Middle East, which has further sharpened as a result of Israel's aggressive actions against Lebanon and other Arab countries, is shown by the proposal, submitted by the Soviet Union, to call an international conference attended by all sides concerned.

We welcome and support the effort of the Libyan Jamahiriyah to strengthen the unity of progressive Arab forces in the Steadfastness Front against the attempts of imperialism and Zionism to sow discord by separate agreements and trample upon the basic rights and interests of the Arab countries.

The Czechoslovak president vehemently denounced the new South African aggression against Angola, called the continuation of the racist domination in the south of Africa inadmissible, and voiced Czechoslovakia's full solidarity with the Namibian people in its struggle for the independence and sovereignty of its country.

Official Talks Reported

AU10'200 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Report by special RUDE PRAVO correspondents Jarmila Houfova and Milan Madr: "Strengthening of Cooperation; Opening of Official Czechoslovak-Libyan Talks"]

[Excerpt] In the afternoon of 8 September, official talks between the Czechoslovak and Libyan highest representatives opened in the international conference hall [in Tripoli].

Taking part in the talks on the Czechoslovak side, apart from Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Commitee and CSSR president, were: CSSR Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek; CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek; CSSR Minister of Foreign Trade Bohumil Urban; Col Gen Miloslav Blahnik, first CSSR deputy minister of national defense and chief of the CSSR People's Army's General Staff; Vratislav Vajnar, head of the Secretariat of the CPCZ general secretary, and Vaclav Jumr, CSSR ambassador to Libya.

Taking part in the talks on the Libyan side, apart from the leader of the Libyan revolution Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, were: 'Abd as-Salam Jallud, member of the Revolution Command of the General People's Congress; Brig Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, commander in chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces; Mustafa Kharrubi, brigadier of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces; 'Ali 'Abd as-Salam at-Turayki, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's adviser for foreign affairs; Bukhari Salim Howdah, secretary of the General People's Committee for Communications and Maritime Transport; 'Abd Hafiz Az-Zulaytini, secretary of the General People's Committee for Education; Murad 'Ali Lanzi, secretary of the General People's Committee for Health, and Umar Nasir 'Abd Jalil, secretary of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in Prague.

The two countries' highest representatives reviewed the development of mutual relations so far and assessed the possibilities for their further promotion. They expressed high appreciation for the development of cooperation between the CSSR and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, and the determination to further develop and strengthen this cooperation.

The two sides also exchanged views on the current issues of the present international situation. They both stressed the significance of the struggle for strengthening peace in the world, easing international tension, and strengthening cooperation among nations. They pointed out the importance of unity and a coordinated course of action of progressive forces in the national liberation struggle of the Arab peoples and the nations of Africa and Latin America. The highest representatives of Czechoslovakia and Libya appreciated the importance of cooperation between the progressive forces of Arab countries and the countries of the socialist community.

After the conclusion of the deliberation, Gustav Husak and Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi continued their talk. At the same time, members of the two statesmen's entourage met for separate talks.

Al-Qadhdhafi, Husak Speeches

LD100934 Prague CTK in English 0822 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Tripoli 10 Sep (CETEKA correspondents)--Libyan revolution leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi has appreciated the constructive character of the talks with Czechoslovak representatives and described the visit by Czechoslovakia's top representative as a new important impulse for the development of bilateral relations.

In his speech on Wednedsay, the Libyan leader said the course of the visit confirmed the initial conviction that the visit would be successful and useful.

He assured President Gustav Husak and the Czechoslovak delegation that the policy of the Socialist Peoples Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah is firm, constant and will be oriented on Libyan-Czechoslovak friendship in the future.

The 1979 revolution mobilized the Libyan people in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and Zionism and put up a strong barrier to any attack of reactionary forces. The Libyan people decided for a progressive path of their development and strive to preserve peace in the world while strengthening their ability of defence against attackes of world imperialism, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi stressed.

Czechoslovak Communist Party general secretary and President Gustav Husak thanked for the warm welcome, friendly atmosphere and attention accord to the Czechoslovak delegation during its stay in the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

He said the visit enabled the Czechoslovak delegation to learn about the great achievements of the Libyan revolution.

He said he agreed with Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's view that the visit brought positive results and created conditions for a further dynamic development of bilateral relations.

Gustav Husak appreciated political, economic and social progress attained by the Libyan Jamahiriyan. Recalling Czechoslovakia's struggle in the past for social progress and independence, he said Libya's goals were thus very close to those of Czechoslovakia, pointing out that Czechoslovakia is prepared to strengthen friendship and cooperation by concrete deeds to the benefit of the people of both countries and in the interest of the progressive movement in Arab states and in the whole world.

Although the two countries are separated by a great geographical distance, they both stand in one progressive camp of friendship and solidarity, Gustav Husak said, expressing the conviction that the visit will elevate bilateral relations to a higher standard.

He added that Czechoslovakia highly respects the firm and principled policy of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and its leadership and sympathizes with their principles.

Husak Departs for Ethiopia

LD101750 Prague CTK in English 1709 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Tripoli, 10 Sep (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak ended on Thursday his official friendly visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and left for Addis Ababa.

The Czechoslovak delegation was seen off by Libyan revolution leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and other Libyan officials.

Joint Communique on Visit

For Libyan media coverage of the visit by Gustav Husak to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah from 7 to 10 September, including accounts of speeches by President Gustav Husak and Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi at a 7 September dinner banquet and the text of a joint communique issued on the visit, see the Libya section of the 8 and 11 September issues of the Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT.

HUSAK, DELEGATION IN ETHIOPIA ON OFFICIAL VISIT

Husak Honored

LD102304 Prague CTK in English 2121 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Addis Ababa, 10 Sep (CETEKA correspondent)--Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak was awarded here Thursday the Order of the Star of Honour of Socialist Ethiopia, first degree, the highest distinction of Ethiopia.

The order was conferred on him by chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia Mengistu Haile Mariam, in appreciation of his merits in the development of friendly ties between the two countries, and for expansion of bilateral cooperation.

Mengistu Haile Mariam highly appreciated Gustav Husak's participation in the anti-fascist struggle and his share in the construction of an advanced socialist society. He praised his contribution to the unity of progressive forces in the world, to the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

Gustav Husak said he was accepting the order as an expression of close friendship, cooperation and alliance between Socialist Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia.

Dinner Toasts Reported

LD102258 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Addis Ababa, 10 Sep (CTK)--It is necessary to further strengthen the ties between the socialist states and African and Asian countries, between all progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, disarmament, freedom and the independence of nations, Gustav Husak said here Thursday.

He was proposing a toast at a dinner given in honour of the Czechoslovak delegation by Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia.

The Communist Party general secretary and president emphasized that the Czechoslovak people vehemently denounce the escalated effort of imperialism to undermine detente, start a new round of the arms race, create new hotbeds of tension and interfere in the internal affairs of other states. Czechoslovakia actively supports the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union for solving outstanding international problems. Adoption of these proposals would help strengthen peace and security in Europe and other parts of the world.

Gustav Husak stated that Czechoslovakia comes out for the elimination of hotspots of tension in the African Continent, for a peaceful solution of contentious issues between African states and for the development of their cooperation. It esteems the contribution of the organization of African unity to this objective.

Czechoslovakia is in full sympathy with the struggle of African nations against the South African regime. It gives full support to the people of Angola who heroically counter the armed aggression and the threat to the sovereignty of their country on the part of the South African Republic. "Our Solidarity is with the fighting people of Namibia.

We vehemently denounce the support for and continuing cooperation of Western states, primarily the United States, with the South African regime, as well as the military provocations of imperialism, its attempts at political, economic and military pressure and at intimidating the countries of Africa and Asia", the president staced.

He added that Czechoslovakia supports a peace settlement in the Middle East where the situation has sharpened as a result of Israel's aggressive attacks on Lebanon and other Arab countries. It considers consistent implementation of United Nations resolutions to be a road to this target.

Gustav Husak stated that Ethiopia, with its consistent anti-imperialist policy, support for the liberation struggle of nations against colonialism, racism and apartheid, has become a firm part of the vanguard of free Africa, of the world's progressive and [word indistinct] forces.

In the struggle for completion of its national democratic revolution, for restructuring of the society on the principles of scientific socialism, the struggle against reactionary forces, Ethiopia can fully rely on the solidarity and support of its friend, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and its people, the president pointed out.

Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia have not only identical political views, but also cooperate in economy, culture and other fields, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia said at a dinner he was giving for the Czechoslovak delegation Thursday.

He noted that relations between the two countries are of a long standing. Recalling the years of Ethiopia's Fascist occupation he noted that Czechoslovakia was one of the few countries which were on the side of justice and opposed the occupation.

Speaking about the international situation, the Ethiopian leader said that while peace forces are striving for detente, international imperialism is trying to thwart these attempts. The present U.S. Administration has decided to produce and stockpile the neutron bomb. It is necessary that all peace, progressive and democratic forces not only denounce, but also firmly counter the dangerous actions of imperialism, Mengistu Haile Mariam stressed.

During the seven years of the Ethiopian revolution imperialist and reactionary forces have been trying to undermine it, the Ethiopian leader continued.

Somalia, aided by American imperialism, violated Ethiopia's territorial integrity, sold its territory to the United States, thus causing a dangerous situation and alarming popular masses in the neighbouring countries, especially in Ethiopia and Somalia itself.

Another problem is southern Africa where Namibian and South African freedom fighters are waging armed struggle against Pretoria's racist and terrorist regime. An important role in this struggle is played by assistance of the socialist states and other progressive countries. The racist Pretoria regime, in collusion with international imperialism, exploits and suppresses the Namibian people. Mengistu Haile Mariam emphasized it is necessary that all peace-loving, progressive and democratic forces increase their assistance to the only representative of the Namibian people--SWAPO. Ethiopia believes that liberation of the Namibian people and liquidation of apartheid in South Africa will help ensure peace and security in the continent and all over the world.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON HONECKER'S VISIT TO MEXICO

LD100904 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0433 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Mexico City, 10 Sep (ADN)--On his arrival in Mexico Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State, made the following speech:

Dear Mr President Lopez Portillo, ladies and gentlemen: As I step on to Mexican soil it is a special joy for me to convey to you, Mr President, and the Mexican people the GDR people's most cordial greetings. I was pleased to accept your kind invitation to the United Mexican States, this great and beautiful country. I thank you, Mr President, for your cordial words and welcome and the friendly reception.

Relations between our two countries and peoples have diverse historical, political and cultural roots. For the people of our country, the name of Mexico is linked with the impressive evidence of a glorious past, with the knowledge of the revolutionary and democratic traditions of Mexican history and the concept of modern Mexico which today occupies a respected place in the world.

I am looking forward to being able to hold a fruitful and constructive exchange of view with you, Mr President, during the next few days. Relations between our two countries have developed favorably and have experienced a dynamic impetus. I am all the more convinced that further stimuli for our future cooperation will emanate from my present visit.

As a result, the bonds of friendship between the GDR and United Mexican States will be linked even more firmly. In view of the complicated international situation I hope that we can at the same time make a contribution toward peace and international understanding.

Once again my thanks for the friendly, cordial reception in Mexico. Muchas gracias.

Honecker Visits Monument

LD101642 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1537 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Mexico City, 10 Sep (ADN)--at the beginning of the second day of his state visit to Mexico the chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, paid homage to the memory of the fallen heroes of the host country. He placed a wreath at the foot of the national monument which bears the name of "Altar of the Fatherland."

The momument is on the edge of Chapultepec Park near the spot where six Mexican cadets were killed in the fight against U.S. aggression in 1847.

Talks With Portillo

LD102124 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1945 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Mexico City, 10 Sep (ADN)--Chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker today called on President of the United Mexican States Jose Lopez Portillo at his residence "Los Pinosh."

The two statesmen held a first exchange of views on the state and prospects of bilateral relations as well as on current international questions. They noted with satisfaction that bilateral relations are developing exemplarily in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. The agreement of positions on the fundamental question of our time is a solid basis for further developing good relations and deepening the friendly cooperation which serves both the interests of the two states and peoples and peace throughout the world.

Erich Honecker and Jose Lopez Portillo viewed the talks as a starting point for a new stage of cooperation as well as a constructive contribution of two states with different social systems to international understanding. Both heads of state emphasized the great value of high level personal encounters and contacts for the intensification of bilateral relations and the consolidation of peace.

During the talks both sides agreed that currently the most urgent task is to take concrete and effective measures to halt the arms race, especially the production of mass destruction weapons. Universal and complete disarmament must be the ultimate goal of the efforts of all states. In this context Erich Honecker and Jose Lopez Portillo voiced their profound concern at the continuing aggravation of the international situation. In view of this situation both states are firmly resolved to continue to work consistently for peace and detente.

Erich Honecker also paid tribute to Mexico's great revolutionary and democratic traditions as well as to the country's impressive achievements in various fields. He emphasized that thanks to its active peace policy Mexico today occupies a respected position in the world.

President Portillo expressed his high regard for the GDR as a factor for peace in Europe. He also highly praised the GDR's achievements in all spheres of social life.

The talk proceeded in a cordial atmosphere marked by mutual understanding and respect.

The talks between Erich Honecker and Jose Lopez Portillo continued in the presence of leading representatives of the two countries. Both heads of state in conclusion assessed their talks as constructive.

Present on the GDR side were: Guenter Mittag, member of the State Council, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs; Dr. Gerhard Beil, member of the Council of Ministers, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign trade; Peter Lorf, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Mexico; and Frank Joachim Herrmann, state secretary, head of the Chancellory of Chairmen of the State Council.

Present on the Mexican side were: Jorge Castaneda, secretary of foreign relations; Jorge Vega, secretary of commerce; Emilio Mujica, secretary of communications and transport; and Ricardo Guerra, Mexico's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR.

ANDREY KIRILENKO IS AWARDED KARL MARX ORDER

AU101241 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--The chairman of the GDR State Council has awarded Andrey Pavlovich Kirilenko, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the CPSU, the Karl Marx Order.

The award for the meritorious Soviet party and state functionary was bestowed at the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers Presidium on the occasion of Andrey Kirilenko's 75th birthday.

TASS CITED ON 'ZAPAD-81' MILITARY MANEUVERS

AU091953 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Sep 81 p 5

[ADN dispatch: "Maneuver Troops Prepare for Combat Actions"]

[Text] Moscow (ADN)--On Monday the staffs, formations and troop units participating in the "Zapad-81" maneuvers took preparatory measures in the assembly area in order to start combat actions, TASS reports.

The "northern forces" and the "southern forces" completed the regrouping of their formations and equipment as well as construction work by engineering troops in the occupied areas and positions. The commanders and staffs continued to organize cooperation between troops in the field. The naval forces organized the technical and rear area protection under combat conditions. Combat actions on land, air and sea were conducted to improve the situation.

POLISH DAILY CITED ON RELATIONS WITH FRG

AU091736 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 5-6 September on page 2 carries a 220-word unattributed report on an unidentified ZYCIE WARSZAWY article on the current exchange of letters between Erich Honecker of the GDR and Helmut Schmidt of the FRG. The report quotes ZYCIE WARSZAWY as stating that both countries want to improve relations in order to revive the East-West dialogue even though Berlin only desires normal relations whereas Bonn would prefer relations of a "specific" nature, a contradiction that certainly will strain contacts between the GDR and the FRG for a long time to come. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, in conclusion, quotes ZYCIE WARSZAWY as stating that the wishes of both sides to maintain good relations makes an agreement possible even now and that European detente would only benefit by it.

AUTHORITIES DETAIN BORDER VIOLATOR FROM FRG

AU091735 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Sep 81 p 2

[ADN report: "Border Violator Detained"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 4 September 1981 (West) Berlin citizen Michael Ochdorf violated the GDR state border in the Oschersleben area and was detained. The pertinent GDR organs are now examining the details of the border violation.

HONECKER SENDS MESSAGE TO PALESTINIAN MEETING

LD100932 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0205 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 10 Sep (ADN)--The SED Central Committee has sent a message of greetings, signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the international conference of solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian people in Beirut. It notes: "The dangerous exacerbation of the situation in the Middle East is regarded by us as part of the confrontation policy by the United States and its NATO allies against the Arab peoples.

"We condemn the aggressive policy of Israel against the Republic of Lebanon and support all efforts to defend its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity."

It continues: "The GDR unchangingly upholds the view that peace and security can only be achieved in the Middle East if Israel withdraws fully from the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to return, to self-determination and to form an independent state of their own, are guaranteed.

"We are determined to continue to support vigorously the just struggle of the Palestinian people, led by the PLO for its national liberation.

"I wish success to your conference which is important for strengthening the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East."

FOREIGN MINISTRY ON SOLIDARITY LETTER TO WORKERS

LD102258 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Statement by unidentified press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the NSZZ Solidarity message to working people of Eastern Europe--date not given]

[Text] The first congress of NSZZ Solidarity passed a message to working people of Eastern Europe. This was done on behalf of an organization which has many millions of members. This act strikes a blow against Poland's national interests. Recently the Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducted talks with Solidarity's representatives. During these talks, the principles of Poland's foreign policy were outlined.

Solidarity gave assurances that it would observe these constitutional principles, which it is also bound to do by its own statute. Solidarity's message to working people of Eastern Europe constitutes demonstrative interference in the internal affairs of other socialist states. Does Solidarity wish to emphasize in this way that it belongs to a different world? The inspirers of the message violated the principal foundations of Poland's foreign policy, dealing a blow against the Polish raison d'etat.

Poland's independent existence, and the inviolability of her borders rests upon the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This constitutes the cornerstone of security structures in Eruope.

The republic knows well the price and weight of relations with her neighbors. For the first time in a modern era, we have only friends as neighbors. It is an historical gain which the socialist Polish state will not allow itself to lose.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that those who were behind the message showed a basic lack of understanding for the basic interests of the nation and the state in the world as it is today--a lack of understanding with perilous potential consequences; a lack of understanding for the balance of forces and a system of alliances which guarantees stabilization in Europe and her peaceful future. Thus, consciously or not, they became an instrument of confrontation forces.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs considers it its duty to state that the message passed by Solidarity's first congress also harms millions of members of this union whose fate is linked with the international situation and interests of Poland.

TU CONGRESS SENDS 9 SEP LETTER TO POLES ABROAD

LD102208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Letter from the delegates of the Solidarity congress to Poles living abroad; passed at the 9 September congress session]

[Text] The first congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity conferring in Gdansk, bearing in mind the right of all Poles irrespective of their home for maintaining links with their fatherland, sends to Poles throughout the world the following message:

Our fatherland is experiencing great moments. The fate of our nation is being decided. A new Poland is being born here on the Vistula--a Poland the foundations of which are a social and national fraternity. Solidarity, which was born from the will of the whole nation, is not only a trade union for working people but is at the same time a civic social movement of people who are aware of their rights and duties towards the fatherland and its independence. From the moment our union came into being we experienced the support and aid of Poles scattered around the world. This is a reason for our pride.

We know that you not only preserved the treasure of Polish speech but you have also given from yourselves fresh treasures of literature, culture and science. These are our joint achievements since Polish culture is indivisible.

In many parts of the world generations of Poles are gaining respect and recognition for their contribution to the development of the countries where they are living. Remember that we are linked together by national history, culture and tradition. The symbol of unity of Poles, the great apostle of love and truth, our brother John Paul II, also unites us in a living manner.

It is not we who are to blame for the fact that attempts were made to obliterate many of us from national memory. Today, in the name of truth and justice, the supreme gathering of NSZZ Solidarity lowers its standards over the graves of Polish soldiers scattered throughout the world. We also pay our respects to all those who in the name of love of the fatherland conducted and are conducting activities for the benefit of the cause of Poland. In particular, we wish these words to reach all those who for their patriotic activities were condemned to oblivion in their country. We send our memory and particularly cordial feelings to those Poles who, right to this very day, cannot find a foothold [oparcie] in any Polish organization and who to this very day are refused the right to tneir own language, culture, history and citizenship.

We will remind the world about your right to create your own cultural and social organizations and your right to Polish schooling. We recognize the organizational structures that were created by you and which serve the Polish cause and friendship with other nations. We are all guided by the same concept--a happy and calm Poland. Accept our most cordial thanks and assurances that we will not deviate from the chosen road.

[Signed] Delegates of the Solidarity congress

FURTHER ON SOLIDARITY CONGRESS 10 SEP PROCEEDINGS

Two Motions Rejected

LD101230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Excerpts] There has been a severe clash at the congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity soon after the resumption of discussion on statutory matters.

Following discussion, a majority voted against a motion to the effect that the congress elect two deputy chairmen of the National Consultative Commission [KKP]. A majority also voted against a motion envisaging that the post of regional executive committee chairman cannot be linked with the post of KKP Presidium member.

Free Elections Urged

NC101957 Paris AFP in English 1948 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 10 Sep (AFP)--The national congress of the independent union Solidarity today called for free elections to Poland's parliament and voted to submit the idea to the labor group's rank and file members.

The proposal aimed at elections where candidates would no more need to be screened for eligibility by the National Unity Front, a Communist Party organ.

The unprecedented suggestion was part of a seven-point program adopted by the congress at the end of the first of its two scheduled sessions. A second meeting is to convene towards the end of the month.

The program, daring as it appeared in many respects, was nothing more in fact than an elaboration on the demands presented by strikers' committees in the summer of 1980 that led to the agreements of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie with the government.

In a press conference today, Lech Walesa, Solidarity's top leader, said that to him, that the outgoing session's most important contribution had been its call for a national referendum on worker self-management of enterprises.

Mr Walesa again came out for a tight centralized organization of Solidarity over the next two years.

Questioned about the congress' expression of support for free unions in other communist countries, Mr Walesa replied:

"We only applied what we were taught--'workers of the world, unite.'"

In a first government reaction, Deputy Premier Miezyslaw Rakowski declared tonight that Solidarity was "complicating the situation" by "talking openly of taking power," warning that this [word indistinct] the government "line of entente."

Solidarity Program Declaration

LD102126 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text of program declaration adopted at Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Text] The supreme aim of NSZZ Solidarity is the creation of worthy living conditions in an economically and politically sovereign Poland. The point is that life should be free of poverty, exploitation, fear and lies in a society organized along democratic and lawful lines. Today the nation expects:

1. An improvement in foodstuff supplies through the establishment of supervision over its production, distribution and prices in cooperation with the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers.

2. An economic reform through the creation of authentic workers' self-management and the elimination of the party's right to make appointments, and the introduction of effective economic mechanisms.

3. Truth through the social control of the mass information media and the removal of lies from Polish schools and culture.

4. Democracy through the holding of free elections to the Sejm and the People's Councils.

5. Justice through ensuring the equality of everyone before the law, freeing those imprisoned for their convictions and the defense of those repressed for publishing and union activities.

6. Saving the threatened health of the nation by protecting the environment, increasing outlays on the health service and guaranteeing that handicapped people are granted the rights due to them in a society.

7. Coal for the population and industry by ensuring that miners have proper living and working conditions.

We shall achieve these aims in conditions of the unity of our union and in the solidarity of its members. The activities of various forces creating a feeling of external threat will not remove from us the will to struggle for the ideals of August 1980 and for the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements.

Resolution on Candidacies

LD102100 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Excerpt] As we have already reported, in the Gdansk Oliwia Hall the first round of the first national congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity ended today.

Today, the debate on the union's statute was completed and a resolution was adopted concerning the People's Councils, in which the congress demands, among other things, that organizations outside the Front of National Unity, as well as citizens' groups, be assured of the freedom to submit candidacies.

First Round Ends 10 Sep

LD101756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Excerpts] According to PAP, today, during the sixth day of debates of the first national congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity, discussion continued on supplements to the union's statute.

Another resolution adopted by the national congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity has the character of a programmatic declaration. It is noted in the document that the creation of dignified living conditions in the economy of a politically sovereign Poland is a supreme goal of the union. What matters is a life free from poverty, exploitation, fear, and lies in a society organized on the lines of democracy and self-management.

Next, the expectations of the people were formulated in seven points.

The first round of the first national congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity ended after 1800. It was closed by a short speech from Lech Walesa. He said, among other things, that he thought that the congress would be worse. I hope the next one will be better. We are still facing many efforts, discussions, and even disputes internally, but we shall remain united to the outside. We shall now sing the national anthem and "Boze Cos Polske" [God Save Poland].

Walesa Closing Speech

LD102110 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] At the conclusion of today's Solidarity congress debates, the floor was taken by Lech Walesa:

[Begin recording] I'm very pleased. I thought that this congress would be worse. However, it turned out that this Solidarity has taught us a bit; a hope that the next congress will be much better.

At the same time I ask you: One fundamental issue must be thought out. At a congress such as this--not only ours, but American ones and others--problems really are not solved. Precisely now, when we have only signaled problems, only signaled the directions, there is scope for showing what can be done in all these groups which we have set up. There, precisely, those things which our members expect must be thoroughly worked out. And when you give account of yourselves before your workforces or your boards, tell them that we have done nothing but signal what is of interest to us. How future destinies will proceed already depends on the task groups, to which it will nevertheless be necessary to add more experts, to add, perhaps as volunteers, whoever has the strength and knows which group is working and where; and let him add to this, so that we can really make this program of ours a program made to the measure of our times, to such a measure that it will not turn out that this is yet another lost path--and if it is lost, then the blame will be ours.

Let us remember this, that Solidarity promised to be something beautiful. But if it is not so beautiful, this will be because the blame will be not on the government's side--the blame will be on our side.

Therefore I ask you once more: I really ask you, let us put all our ambitions away into our pockets. Let us put them away; let us put them away, because we have a great chance to make Poland a Poland that our fathers did not manage to make. But then, really, many sacrifices are needed from us, many efforts. Let us have dispute--but of course constructive dispute.

Here we can fight, but this is our internal matter; and outside let us defend Solidarity. Let us defend divisions; let us defend them, for only, exclusively, when we retain Solidarity, is there success and victory. [end recording]

Summary of First Round

LD102114 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Gdansk is now on the air: The first national congress of NSZZ Solidarity's delegates concluded its first round at 1830. Today's discussion revolved, first and foremost, around the issue of the union's statute and around working out the programmatic declaration. During the noon debate, Lech Walesa took the floor. He sharply criticized the amendment to the statute which has already been passed; the amendment concerns the issue of not combining union posts [poprawka o nielaczeniu stanowisk]. This very likely speech was greeted with applause from the hall. In the second round of voting the delegates approved the concept of arriving at the union leadership, presented by Lech Walesa. Moreover, as far as statutory matters are concerned, it was resolved that the National Commission will be elected by the congress, in proportion to the size of the regions. Chairman of regional boards will also be members of it. The National Commission Presidium and two deputy chairmen will be elected by the National Consultative Commission [KKP]. In accordance with an amendment to the statute passed by the delegates, in a chapter relating to the organization of strike actions, the decision to call a strike in an area larger than a region will rest with the National Commission.

Further on in today's debates, following the conclusion of work on the union's statute, a few draft resolutions were presented. After a discussion, lasting a few hours, three of them were passed. Most of the time was devoted to the union's programmatic declaration.

The delegates stated that it is impossible to return from the congress to the regions empty-handed, without any program theses at all. The declaration reads, among other things:

It is the supreme goal of the Solidarity union to create dignified conditions of life in a Poland that is economically and politically sovereign. Today, the nation expects--here we have seven points which, as Lech Walesa stated at a press conference, are to be the main topics that the union considers most urgent: among them, introduction of the economic reform and improvement in the supply of foodstuffs to the population. These goals, the resolution reads, can only be attained in conditions of the union's unity and solidarity among its members.

Two further points which were covered: The resolution on the elections to People's Councils and issues concerning emigration, reemigration and passports.

The resolution on the ratification of the union's statute by regional boards was passed by acclamation during the concluding part of the session. It is also known that during the second round of the national congress, toward the end of September--and most delegates support this--the new congress Presidium and Commission of Resolutions and motions will be elected. At the end of today's proceedings, Lech Walesa took the floor.

Following Lech Walesa's speech, the singing of the national anthem and the song "God Protect Poland" [Boze Cos Polske], the first national congress of NSZZ Solidarity's delegates ended its first round in Gdansk.

Walesa Press Conference

LD102340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Following the conclusion of the Solidarity congress, a press conference was held in the hall. When asked what the congress' significance for Poland is, the chairman of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] said that a number of problems of importance to the country were raised during the congress. If the government wishes to be a good government it should tackle these problems ahead of Solidarity. We will then be satisfied with the government. Lech Walesa also said that the tasks set for the first round of the congress have been fulfilled.

WARSAW PZPR COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON TU CONGRESS

LD101834 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] The executive of the Warsaw PZPR Committee has published a statement in connection with the session of the first national congress of Solidarity's delegates. The progress of deliberations so far, says the statement, arouses alarm and opposition. It is not the content of the union program, but political demands that have become the predominant tendency in the Gdansk debates.

In the name of preserving internal peace and order, in the name of the fatherland's socialist future, it is necessary to decisively reject [word indistinct] anarchy and counterrevolution, says the statement.

We have enough strength, as a party and as citizens, to rebuff the wave of hatred and irresponsible actions aimed against the nation's vital interests. Let us organize these forces to struggle in defense of socialist Poland, says the statement of the Warsaw PZPR Committee.

GLOS PRACY CARRIES SOLIDARITY KKP REPORT

AU101210 Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 7 Sep 81 p 6

[PAP report on "Report by the National Consultative Commission"]

[Text] The report assesses the development of the sociopolitical situation in the country in the year since the Polish August. It assesses the successive conflicts and agreements, the advances and obstacles in implementing the social accords. This is the background against which Solidarity's experiences in the first year of its existence are assessed. The main points of this document, mainly concerning general problems, are as follows:

The first congress closes the founding period in the existence of the union; union authorities, elected in democratic elections, already exist at all territorial levels. The congress will form the national governing bodies of the union.

Times have been unfavorable for normal internal union work. The union has regularly been drawn into conflict situations.

The concrete results of our activities may seem to be insignificant and insufficient as compared with our aspirations and hopes, but we do not exaggerate when we say that a revolution is in progress in Poland and Solidarity is its main force. Post-August-Poland is becoming a different country from the one that existed before.

In July and August 1980, the workers protested against injustice and lies, against arbitrary decisions and orders by the authorities, and against the deteriorating economic situation in the country and material situation of the working people.

The August workers' upsurge was a powerful liberation movement whose goals involved human and civil rights, human dignity, the supreme rights of society and the nation, and the basic aspirations of the working people. It was the continuation of the collective actions in the defense of human rights, the continuation of the movements in the defense and improvement of the republic.

The Polish August has not only changed the social landscape in the country and the existing arrangement of forces, but also has initiated a profound spiritual change among the Poles.

As a great and real force, Solidarity provides a change for a social equilibrium in which people are protected and authority is effectively controlled.

The entire history of Solidarity to date has consisted of constant conflicts following the same pattern: a specific problem emerges suddenly or gradually; the lack of any reaction, or a wrong reaction on the part of the authorities brings about a strike, the occupation of a building or some other form of protest; the ensuing very tense nonstop talks lasting several hours which end in the signing of an agreement.

In the whole difficult period of the union's formation and of many acute conflicts, Solidarity has enjoyed the broad support of the church. Church representatives have repeatedly assumed the difficult role of mediating in conflicts and negotiations.

From the beginning, Solidarity has fought against the threat of shifting the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the public. It has been only partially successful. However, wages have been adjusted. We have fought not for high, but for fair wage increases. This goal has not been fully achieved because of the resistance on the part of the authorities.

In addition to the wage adjustments, the union is to be credited with some changes in the system of social insurance. In particular, the union brought about work on social insurance against unemployment. Work is in progress to determine a social minimum as a base for minimum wages and social benefits.

We have managed to ensure the implementation of the principle of free Saturdays. At most enterprises, their introduction has produced no adverse economic effects. Only in some economic branches, particularly in mining, has this measure aggravated manpower shortages and brought down production. The prolonged leisure time is a historic victory won in bitter fighting by the working people in Poland.

The accumulated results of the crisis became fully evident in the year under review. First of all, production declined. However, this decline could have been significantly smaller if the authorities had fought the crisis energetically from the very beginning.

The crisis is getting worse and an economic disaster threatens. Even today the living conditions of society are dramatic. The union must take immediate steps to protect the material situation of the poorest. The specific settlement of the issue of cost-of-living allowances is of paramount importance in this respect.

Solidarity has thus far abstained from direct action in the economy. Notwithstanding the accusations, it wants to be primarily a trade union. It could not assume joint responsibility, since it had no influence on decisions. It counted on the government's activity. However, the government proved to be inefficient.

While bearing in mind the fact that we are a trade union, at the congress we must work out a strategy for activity in the economy.

We are prepared to participate in the elaboration and implementation of a real program for saving the economy, but we also must observe the principle: The measures undertaken must not worsen the material situation of the poorest groups of the population and must not result in mass unemployment.

The union must set about the issue of economic reform more actively. The government has been forced to take the first steps in this sphere. However, influential groups opposing reform were and still are in power. The attitude taken by the authorities to the issue of workers' self-management makes it obvious.

The pledge concerning the union's own publishing house, contained in the Gdansk agreement, has thus far not been fulfilled. However, all regional organizations have begun publishing activities. Hundreds of union bulletins have been established and are being issued.

The problem of access to the mass media goes beyond the range of the union's internal affairs and, speaking generally, touches upon its existence and functioning in the country's social life.

The monopoly of information and of expressing opinions that still exist in radio and television drastically infringes upon the rights of the public. Solidarity has demanded that public control be established over radio and television programs, but so far the authorities have only simulated moves in this direction. Information and political commentaries on Polish television have preserved the style of the pre-August governing system intact, and Solidarity has been systematically subject to caustic, hostile and frequently slanderous propaganda.

The National Consultative Commission [KKP] considers providing the union with access to the mass media under normal conditions one of the basic factors of social stabilization and calm.

The union is not afraid of criticism, no matter how it is formulated. But it fights for the right to truth in public information.

Both the union's program and activity have arisen from the needs of the moment, from direct tasks confronting it.

The agreements signed a year ago have guaranteed the union's right to existence and activity. Solidarity has accepted with acknowledgement and in good faith the proclaimed line of a dialogue, the line of settling problems and conflicts by negotiations and agreements. This is the only way to overcome the crisis and to carry out the necessary reform without the danger of tragic confrontations between the public and the authorities, confrontations that would ruin our great historic chance for many years. Being aware of the dangers, we have adopted from the beginning the principle of political prudence and self-restraint.

However, the consistent resistance on the part of the pre-August system and of various forces in the economic and political power apparatus repeatedly compelled the union to make use of the ultimate argument, the strike. Moreover, the use of it was restricted, because all the year's strikes totaled less than one working day.

In recent weeks, the union has noted with concern a systematic return to the old ways of exerting power.

In the year under review, the union acted in line with three programs: for reclamation [rewindykacja], for negotiations and for self-managing activity. We accomplished our tasks as a trade union and a social movement within the framework of those three programs.

The program for reclamation corresponded to the trade union formula most fully. We demanded that the promises made in poststrike agreements be honored, that the material living standards of Polish families be protected, that economic reform and democracy be put into effect, and that human and civil rights be respected.

Since the amount of fiat money in circulation was growing, it became increasingly obvious that the government was only pretending to fulfill its promises concerning wages and material living conditions. Thus we persistently demanded changes in the economic and social system, because only they could give us the hope that the workers' demands would be met and that promises made by the authorities would ever be honored.

In our negotiating strategy, we have not yet been able to create mechanisms to influence negotiations by the union's opinion. The program for negotiations was primarily verified in specific and detailed talks aimed at a business-like accord concerning a clearly defined issue.

From the very beginning the union followed a program for positive activities. Since the government did not move to implement the program for saving the country's economy and for a fundamental economic reform, it was impossible to restrict the union to the exertion and stimulation of a system of public control over the authorities.

The plan drawn up by the union for creating workers' self-management expressed the awareness that the crisis was getting rapidly worse and that independent action had to be taken to save the country.

We realized that we must not watch inactively the progressing disintegration of the national economy. It was obvious that we ourselves had to take the matter of repair into our own hands, to offer our constructive solutions, and that in doing so we could count on public credibility. However, to make our undertakings politically feasible, we had to obtain, through an agreement with the government, elementary conditions for creating workers, self-managing bodies with powers recognized by the opposite party. Thus a formula acceptable to both sides was necessary.

In implementing successive activity programs, the union consistently adhered to the basic principles of the social accords, while restricting demands and intending to achieve real changes. In the heat of the struggle some union circles or organizations occasionally happened to break this principle, but in collective actions political reason prevailed.

The point was primarily not to lose anything that we had already won, and to implement public demands in a discrete manner in order not to jeopardize the stability of the country's sociopolitical structure and at the same time to carry out the program for workers' protests. We acted in the spirit of national responsibility and of Polish interests.

In its international activities, the union was governed by the following guidelines: the supremacy of Polish national interests commanding us to act in the spirit of a just international peace and of good relations with neighboring countries, relations based on the principles of partner-like and equal cooperation, respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples, the implementation of the principles of justice and equality in interstate relations, and international solidarity among the working people.

All our activities in the sphere of international relations followed those guidelines and served the interests of Poland well. The charges formulated by the circles hostile to us to the effect that Solidarity infringed upon the interests of the Polish state are absolutely groundless.

In the year under review, the union has been changing from a loose federation of Interfactory Founding Committees associated on the principle of solidarity into a strong organization which has more than 9.5 million members and constitutes the strongest social movement in Poland.

The elections have consolidated the union and gave its figures the feeling that they were acting on behalf of all. They have also brought to the fore thousands of people of a new Poland, people willing to work for radical reforms in the country and possessing for that purpose experience, knowledge and public support. The union is a mint of ideas and civil action.

The union's internal life is remarkable for three fundamental features: democracy, activity and solidarity. Notwithstanding various dangers and crises, in the year under review the union preserved these three features thus guaranteeing its strength.

The enterprise organization is the basis of the union. Even the most efficient centralization could not substitute in activity for individual enterprise organizations.

In uniting the labor world, we have chosen the territorial principle, a union as an association of regional accords among the working people of various trades. While dealing with the administrative apparatus practically as the only employer, we have chosen the most logical path of building structures encompassing all the employees of that employer. That principle of territoriality has passed the test.

The principles of activity in trade and branch sections of the union have from the beginning been rather ambiguous. The KKP endeavored primarily to subordinate the just interests of individual categories of employees to the general principle of solidarity and the union's policy as a whole stemming from that principle.

In the year under review, Solidarity again and again faced the dilemma: a dialogue with the authorities, or confrontation. On the part of the union, the line of a dialogue always prevailed. It was responsibility for the fate of the national community that commanded us in the most difficult moments to be patient and to accept compromises, although all moments of social calm were used to intensify attacks against Solidarity.

The list of the government's unfulfilled promises arising both from the poststrike agreements and from subsequent negotiations is long. We have not forgotten and will not forget what has been promised to us and what is our due. But first of all we bear in mind that society has given Solidarity an enormous credit, regarding our union as a guarantor of renewal in the country's public life and as a protection of the supreme national interests. For this reason we emphatically state that we stand on the grounds of social agreement, that we regard the policy of a dialogue and negotiations as being fully capable of regulating relations between the authorities and the public, and that the country's future is our main concern.

We expect that our union's work for Poland will meet with honest and loyal partnership on the part of the authorities. This is a command of the times and a guarantee for political stability in the future.

PRESS REACTION TO SOLIDARITY CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Condemns Appeal

LD111028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0503 GMT 11 Sep 81

[From the press review]

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY says in an editorial: Each country has a union movement as is deemed most suitable for its own needs. We would not like the structure of the Polish union movement to be designed elsewhere. We do not think that NSZZ Solidarity wants it either. Solidarity would, in all probability, have protested against this as well, should it be asserted that it was born more than a year ago at the encouragement of foreigners.

Well then, what is the importance f the appeal from Gdansk? Against whom is it really aimed? In ZYCIE WARSZAWY we have been appealing for prudence and coolheadedness. It is, however, difficult to imagine that the appeal was born in the fire of emotions. It was written and passed with coolheadedness. This proves that there is a conscious desire to confront Solidarity's concept of European political realities with this reality.

One could here use many sharp words, but we are not interested in this. In our opinion, any political activity has sense only when its goals have been clearly defined.

In conclusion, ZYCIE WARSZAWY says: The goals of Polish foreign policy are no secret. They have been defined clearly and repeatedly. Therefore, if it seems to some that it is possible to improvise variants of this policy, it is necessary to dispel such illusions. There can be no other course for Polish foreign policy than the current one. The appeal from Gdansk, harming this policy, thereby harms Poland and Poles. It proves that its authors are blind.

Congress Features Reported

AU101054 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Sep 81 p 2

["BGW" report: "Behind-the-Scenes Events"]

[Text] The Solidarity congress is taking place in the Oliwia sports arena--the biggest arena in the coastal area. The arena is owned by Gdansk shipyard workers, who are sponsors of the hockey section of the Stoczniowiej sports club. The arena, which is used for ice hockey games, seats about 4,500 spectators. The Solidarity congress' attendance is much smaller, and many seats are empty in the great arena.

The congress was prepared at very great speed by a team of about 80 people. The cost of the congress: about Z20 million.

No exact date is available to show how many journalists are reporting the congress. The journalists employed by Solidarity for publications in factories, by trade union and branch commissions, and by the regional and central authorities are most numerous--about 350. The second largest group is foreign journalists--over 200--who have come from all over the world. The Japanese journalists are most numerous among them. There are also over 150 Polish journalists representing large Polish dailies and periodicals.

Trade union brochures and bulletins are distributed during the congress debates. They cover everything--Poland's history, the haggling about managers, international events and a thousand other things.

It is true that the congress organizers asked the region [unidentified] to direct all printed matter to the central distribution station, but this is of no avail, because various illegal printings such as the anti-Soviet issue of the Solidarity ZIEMIA PULAWSKA bulletin [Lublin area] or Leszek Moczulski's program for the Confederation For an Independent Poland, entitled "Revolution Without Revolution," are circulated and sold "on one's own initiative" inside and outside the Olinia arena....

But that printed matter hailing from Gdansk through Przemysl does not contain even a mention of the congress and its program and themes. I think that trade union officials need to be equally concerned about access of their programmatic and organizational subject to the so-called mass media and to....their own publications meant for internal trade union use.

Refreshment stands are well stocked with meat sandwiches, coffee, tea and nonalcoholic drinks. The Ruch kiosk sells Carmen and Zefir cigarettes on coupons. In the morning there are long lines for....what they call here the "regime" press: GLOS WYBREZEZA, DZIENNIK BALTYCKI and TRYBUNA LUDU.

Solidarity Potential Viewed

LD101500 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 10 Sep 81

["Where Is Solidarity Headed For?" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Sep (PAP)--This is the [word indistinct] the Polish Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI [word indistinct] the headline of its article. Having deplored that Solidarity could have become a powerful constructive force enhancing the efforts of the party and government aimed at putting in operation the economic reform, mobilizing personnel for more productive work, bringing in a better work discipline, counteracting phenomena of social anarchy and the phenomena of profiteering, parasitism, hooliganism and criminal acts, the daily says:

"Unfortunately, there is much to show that Solidarity has been dominated by adventurist and irresponsible elements blinded by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, anarchists and syndicalists seeking to overthrow the state and replace it with structures of an 'extreme self-management' model. Many prominent activists, aided and abetted by zealous advisers and experts, have concentrated their attention on fighting the government, fomenting public opinion, organizing strikes and picking quarrels with regional authorities, often over trifles. Total negation of effects of almost all government actions and the spreading of doubt over the efficacy of measures instituted by the government to check the crisis has become a battle cry of the 'hawks' or 'radicals' or, plainly speaking, of the adventurists in Solidarity. Bearing no responsibility for anything in their demagogic enunciations they are trying to create the impression among workers and other social strata that the party and the government takes the blame for everything whereas they, given power, would be able to heal the situation overnight. They sound ridiculous, with their mouths also full of such words as striving for full democracy and justice, when they cannot swallow any criticism of their actions and, not infrequently, resort to mental pressure or even acts of physical terror, not only towards party activists, but also people with no party affiliation who oppose their adventurist policies. In their almost mad striving to transform Solidarity into a massive anti-party and anti-government political movement which could give them power they even disregard appeals for reason which come from the church and some more prudent persons in their own midst."

"The hopes nurtured by counter-revolutionary elements in Solidarity of being able to overthrow the socialist system in Poland are illusory and continued tolerance of their activities can cost us dearly and do immense harm to the trade union organization itself."

"Anarchists and demagogues in Solidarity can ignite the fuse to the gunpowder keg: They must be isolated promptly, so that it is not too late."

The daily says in conclusion: "A sinister wind swept the deliberations of the first part of the Solidarity congress. From inspiration of uncompromising anti-communists, largely from under the sign of KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] with personal involvement of K. Modzelewski, the congress adopted a resolution on self-management which constitutes a dangerous challenge and blackmail addressed to the party, the government and the Sejm. Of a similar character is the message which is an inadmissible and dangerous interference in the internal affairs of socialist states. The road on to which Solidarity is being pushed by adventurist and counter-revolutionary elements leads to incalculable consequences."

More From ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI

LD101732 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Sep 81

["Where Is Solidarity Headed For?"--PAP headline]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 10 Sep (PAP)--For over a year now Poland has not only not succeeded in extricating itself from the economic, political and moral crisis, but is continuing to sink deeper and deeper into numerous accumulating difficulties and contradictions. In recent weeks these difficulties and contradictions have assumed the nature of an open attack by Solidarity on the party and the government, writes ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

Particularly in recent weeks the adventurists in Solidarity have launched a broad political campaign against the party and the government. The slogans of this campaign are gaining power at industrial enterprises by bringing about workers' self-management, including the exclusive right to appoint and dismiss directors, and basically making the enterprises independent of the state; creating their own editorial boards completely independent of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs; and speeding up elections to the People's Councils and the Sejm in the hope of gaining a majority of the votes.

We hope that the many millions of workers in the ranks of Solidarity will expel the adventurists and irresponsible fanatics and free themselves of false advisers and experts who can knock them off course and bring Poland to the brink of the abyss. The anarchists and demagogues within Solidarity could ignite the fuse of the gunpowder keg. They must be isolated as soon as possible before it is too late, writes the Polish Army newspaper.

Foreign Press Cited

AU101212 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Sep 81 p 3

[Col W. Zielinski article: "How Foreign Countries See Us"]

[Text] When one reads the WALL STREET JOURNAL editorial "Buying Out Poland" one gains the impression that the Washington administration is deeply disappointed that the "Soviet Union has not invaded Poland" as yet. As the author of that editorial states: "It looks as if President Reagan will have to decide what to do about the Polish situation if the Soviet Union does not invade Poland."

Truth to tell, it is somehow difficult to glean from the U.S. press what the U.S. administration intends to do in connection with South Africa's armed aggression against Angola. But let us go back to Poland. As you can see, the wishful thinking of the commentators and even some politicians in the West concerning an "invasion" of Poland has not come true. This fact has annulled the ready scenarios for "punishing the aggressor" and has made it impossible to marshal arguments "to justify" the decision on production of the neutron bombs.

Regardless of its colors, the Western press is also busy looking at the Polish situation, but it is doing it more meaningfully, though not always sympathetically. For example, the West German paper DIE WELT pours a little cold water on the uncritical enthusiasts of the IMF by saying, inter alia: "The IMF does not take care of the bankrupt, but fulfills the functions of a physician who undertakes the necessary operations to cure the patient....such therapy is what Poland needs now...."

Yes, precisely, therapy--rapid therapy at that--is what our economy needs. But, as if it were not enough that our economy is so lame, it is being continuously hamstrung. At the same time, some people suggest headache tablets instead of therapy.

This is what the serious British journal FINANCIAL TIMES seems to suggest in an article which reads in part: "The stabilization plan Poland needs looks, on first sight, like bitter medicine. However, the only force that can induce Polish society to swallow that medicine is Solidarity, which recognizes the need for many extraordinary measures, but which rejects the key tenets of the stabilization reform that constitute the other half of the reconstruction plan. The reform seeks to achieve in a relatively brief time what in Hungary, bent on reform, took over 10 years to materialize."

It is true that the author of that article exaggerated a little with that "only force," but we can forgive him this lapse because whatever else he says is true.

The U.S. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR also discusses the need for improving our economy, but it touches upon another aspect of it. Above all it states that the Western banking and trade circles also bear responsibility for Poland's present situation because "they greedily looked after their own interests." The journal writes: "The Russians warned the Poles from time to time, but the counsel coming from Moscow was completely ignored. Now we see that the East and the West are taking action on Poland--action which is not harmonized, but which is parallel--in order to prevent Poland's 'economic Dunkirk' because no side wants such a 'Dunkirk....' We should hope, in the name of a new economic order and stability in Europe, that success will be achieved."

The French daily LE FIGARO stresses indirectly the need for an economic reform, giving some illustrations of the situation such as, for example, a certain village in which--as soon as the black market was eliminated--some peasants decided to hold back all their farm produce for themselves.

DIE NEUE in West Berlin also writes about our economic difficulties and the aggravation of the political situation by some Solidarity forces. It writes: "The most frequent question heard now in Poland is where all this will lead to. But the people's insouciance is astonishing, which adds to the tragic nature of the situation. It is true that people continue to ask what next, but, at the same time, they back up whatever is directed against the government and the party, even if such actions held deteriorate the economic situation. The government is unable to produce almost any kind of meat. Does Solidarity realize that the meat people need can be imported only for credits, but that such credits depend on the willingness of the foreign countries to grant them?"

There is no doubt that some Solidarity gentlemen realize "where all that can lead to" because there are more and more leaks to show their final aim. Having analyzed the activities of the Solidarity authorities, J. Lipavsky writes in the Czechoslovak RUDE PRAVO: "There is no doubt that the task is to 'prepare psychological ground' for another, qualitatively new stride in the struggle for power. This has also been confirmed by the results of the recent session of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission in Gdansk. Inter alia, the seven points of the session's resolution recommend immediate bargaining with regard to the election of new factory managers, withdrawing from the individual economic associations, controlling and recording the property owned by factories, the immediate control throughout the food industry over production and distribution, and preparations for a 6-day strike in the mass media. These 6 days are meant to be the days of pressure against the government, to 'soften' it up and to make it give still more room to Solidarity leaders--mainly on television and radio--so they can proclaim their 'independent' and completely uncontrolled arguments concerning the political and economic destruction of the socialist system."

However, we should hope that more realistic views will predominate at the Solidarity congress and that in this way the policy of establishing an atmosphere of effort and social order will be adopted. Only such a policy can improve and even restore the health of our country's economic situation.

SOLIDARITY 2 SEP STATEMENT ON ACCESS TO MASS MEDIA

AU101327 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 3 Sep 81 p 6

["Statement" issued in Gdansk on 2 September by the Solidarity National Consultative Commission on the union's access to radio and television]

[Text] Solidarity demands access to radio and television on the basis of Item 3 of the Gdansk agreement providing that "radio, television, the press and publishing houses should be guided in their activity by freedom to express various opinions and views. That activity should be subject to public control."

The events of the last month, at a time when the state monopoly of information over radio and television has become an instrument for confusing public opinion and when social tensions have become aggravated, have proven that implementing the provisions of the Gdansk agreement must not be postponed any longer. In the meantime, in its attitude to this issue the government recently took a step backward. The government's press spokesman publicly confirmed the principle of state monopoly over decisions concerning materials to be transmitted by radio and television, regarding the latter as a "central organ of the state administration."

Radio and television commentaries have been presenting--as the union's attempt at usurping state power--the demand that public control be established over radio and television, in line with the Gdansk agreement. We will fight for implementing the provisions of the Gdansk agreement by all statutory means. We demand a share in public control over radio and television and access to them not only for the union, but also for all organizations and groups performing important roles in the country's public life, such as the church, peasants' organizations, and creative and scientific societies.

On 26 May, the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs completed its talks with representatives of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] on the mass media. While not giving up the struggle for fully implementing the demands concerning an access to the mass media, the KKP notes the government's proposals and the proposals of the government's official committee. We demand that those proposals be immediately put into effect.

However, an agreement must be reached on the contradictory issue of how Solidarity programs should be introduced on radio and television. Talks on this issue should be begun immediately. The KKP regards the radio and television coverage of the first national congress of Solidarity delegates as an integral part of materializing our union's access to the mass media. The government's side made this coverage subject to the union's renunciation of possible protests actions in the press, radio and television. The KKP turns down this condition. The first Solidarity congress is a highly important event in the country's life, and no one must demand that the union give up its statutory rights in exchange for radio and television coverage of the congress. (The union is not a petitioner of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs).

The KKP does not recognize the 25 August 1981 Council of Ministers antistrike decision No 185/81 concerning radio and television personnel and stations. Thus far, the union has not launched any protest action in those institutions, but authorized union organizations may take this measure, for example in the case of reprisals against personnel which have been clearly announced by the authorities.

At the same time the KKP states that the radio and television coverage of the congress must be made in a manner guaranteeing the union and public opinion against the manipulation and confusion widely practiced by the media, particularly in recent times. We must not allow the first national Solidarity congress to be presented to the public in a dishonest manner.

The KKP endorses the position taken on this issue by the Solidarity negotiating team in the talks with representatives of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs. To guarantee that reports on the congress are honest, two teams must be in charge of radio and television coverage: one selected by the union from among the personnel of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, and the second selected by the government's committee.

Another acceptable solution is to form a team of Solidarity members for covering the congress, and at the same time to guarantee the union's right to authorize program shooting and recording at all stages, as well as the subsequent transmissions of program fragments. We cannot allow the national congress to be presented to the public in the way radio and television newcasts have presented our union's activity recently.

The KKP repeats the appeal addressed by the union's chairman to all journalists for honest and all-round reports on our congress proceedings. The KKP fully supports Solidarity members in Polish radio and television, at radio and television stations, in their endeavors to make the mass media accessible to the union. The KKP supports the Association of Polish Journalists in its struggle against attempts to restore the pre-August order in the press, radio and television. Should attempts be made to intimidate journalists and mass media personnel, we declare that we will not hesitate to respond to reprisals against them with a strike.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI SCORES SOLIDARITY'S 'ARROGANCE'

AU101046 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 7 Sep 81 p 3

[Jerzy Rulicz article: "A Show of Arrogance"]

[Excerpts] I am convinced that on 1 September, having watched and heard the statements by four representatives (Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Leszek Waliszewski and Lech Walesa) of the NSZZ Solidarity during a special precongress TV program, many viewers were left with the conviction that the government had its site in Gdansk and that Gdansk would be a site for the congress of the political party which--as the statements made by the aforementioned gentlemen--plays the leading role in the country. This TV program confirmed the current view that the road to genuine accord is still a long one.

Following that program, one is justified in fearing that the temperature of social unrest will soon go up. Solidarity's list of demands, which are bound to aggravate the disputes with the government, was presented with compelte clarity, and a wall of distrust was raised. I think that those who listened carefully to representatives of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity participating in that TV program were bound to perceive a number of disturbing accents and even points of the action program being prepared. That program certainly did away with the doubt as to who is the chief sower of unrest, and perhaps this is the reason why the program played a positive role. I personally believe that such public statements by leaders help open the eyes of various people. I know and I fully concur with the Solidarity gentlemen that there is no time for mutual accusations because the country's fate is at stake and because we must get it out of its crisis. Yet, those gentlement's statements can be defined as efforts to extend the "stupid polemic," as Lech Walesa said.

Their statements were dominated by attacks against the government and, I will add, smacked of demagogy. Is it not demagogy to pose as a miracle worker and renewer who is head and shoulders above everyone, above the government and above the entire staff of ministers and advisors? Lech Walesa said, inter alia: "I am ready to sit at the same table with the premier and his entire staff--I will be quite alone--and thrash out various problems...." As I see it, the chairman of the KKP Solidarity overestimates his abilities. He could do with a pinch of modesty. With his entire inborn self-assurance, Mr Bujak said that strikes are not at all so expensive and that society pays far more for bungled management. This is only partially true. Bigger losses were caused by the fact that the managers had their hands tied [by strikes], that their decisions were paralyzed and that they were placed between the devil and the deep blue sea. It is a pity that Solidarity leaders did not listen to the managers' statements at the meeting with the premier.

Our society is watching with great attention Solidarity's struggle with the government for uncontrolled access to radio and television. The result of that struggle will be of great psychological--perhaps decisive--significance. Tuesday's [1 September] TV show was the first public curtain raiser that provoked the question: How long will the government remain patient? Solidarity leaders make no secret of their negative opinion of the government, and there are many indications that they want to use their access to radio and TV for intensified criticism of the government. I think that the time has come to put an end to this political unconstraint. Following the TV program in question, I was even more concerned as to whether Solidarity was mature enough to have access to such a dangerous weapon as radio and TV. I also hope that the journalist who conducted the TV program with Solidarity officials had prematurely told them in kind terms that they were at home and could consider themselves as almost the hosts of the program. [sentence as published] I am aware of the determination of the government, during the relevant talks, to make access to radio and TV dependent on political conditions. Solidarity leaders pretend to be taken aback as if they did not know what a political weapon TV is. I trust that the government will consistently insist on those conditions.

All of Poland watches TV, and I am not at all convinced that it wants TV programs overloaded with reports on Solidarity's congress in Gdansk, or, even less, with the reports prepared by Solidarity teams, because everyone knows in advance that such reports will be emasculated, embellished and strongly censored. This is why I think that congress reports and press conferences should be commented upon by independent journalists who are not subordinated to the propaganda of success promoted by Solidarity. Otherwise we will be faced with brainwashing. The union is oversensitive to criticism and must get rid of that weakness, unless this is its deliberate style. It is precisely within Solidarity that the manifestation of arrogant youthfulness has become rife. Is this always justified? Perhaps that youthful immaturity is the chief reason why Solidarity leaders do not always know what they say, but they are still strictly responsible for their words. Mr Frasyniuk--Deputy Premier Rakowski drew attention to this--said that Solidarity's greatest success is the fact that it has come into being, that it exists and that it is active within the system of totalitarian power.... We cannot blame Mr Frasyniuk for the fact that he cannot remember the years of occupation, but we can and should expect from a member of the Solidarity leadership that he has a basic knowledge of the issues on which he makes pronouncements. The trade union movement is only too keen to boast of the youthfulness of its leaders.

In conclusion, I will allow myself to draw attention to the fact that all the countries that count, through their achievements, demand primarily that their politicians be educated, experienced and very prudent in action. Of course, things can be different in the trade unions that are pure trade unions, but we know that, except for our country, no trade unions in the world engage in politics.

YOUTHS, GYPSIES ENGAGE IN KONIN STREET CLASH

Details of Conflict

LD101610 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1430 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Street fighting took place in the old part of Konin yesterday evening. It was started by a dispute over cigarettes between two young people, one of them a gypsy. A crowd began to gather, the militia intervened, and more blows were exchanged between gypsies and groups of young people.

During the disturbances, a motor vehicle was set on fire and destroyed and several windows were broken. Some of those present went to the municipal (militia) headquarters. Aggressive shouting was heard but fortunately there were no clashes between the citizens' Militia and those who went to the station.

Local Solidarity representatives and journalists joined in the efforts to settle the conflict in the evening. One of three detained persons has been released.

The detainees were examined by a doctor, who stated that they had not been beaten, thus giving the lie to the current rumor that one of them was shot and wounded. Following numerous appeals, those assembled left for their homes at about 0200. The remaining two detainees were released from custody this morning.

More on Street Clashes

LD102124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] PAP reports that after about 12 hours of calm the situation in Konin became tense again this afternoon.

Several hundred youths, some of them drunk, set two cars on fire and destroyed [words indistinct] at a gypsy camp near the town. Thanks to the courageous intervention of 2 Citizens' Militia functionaries, 18 gypsy children were evacuated to safety.

The forces of law and order arrived on the scene but groups of hooligans succeeded in entering the town and, like last night, are gathered outside the Citizens' Militia headquarters. The crowd is in a very aggressive mood. One of the soldiers [as heard] was hit on the head by a stone and had to be taken to the hospital.

The Ministry of the Interior announces that firm measures are being taken by the Citizens' Militia to put an end to the incidents, by using legal means of coercion, and to find the perpetrators and bring them to justice. The causes and circumstances surrounding the incidents are being investigated with the help of the local prosecutor's office.

Konin Reported Calm

LD102218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Here is a last minute news flash. We have received a report from Konin that calm has returned to the town.

Further Details

LD111046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Last night and this morning have passed peacefully in Konin. Apart from the gutted property belonging to gypsies and the dismantled pavement used to build barricades there is no great material damage.

The street riots in Konin took place the day before yesterday and last night. It all started with a fight involving a gypsy. The crowd attacked the gypsy encampment outside the town and next the municipal headquarters of the Citizens' Militia. At the height of the riots the crowd numbered some 1,000 people. Stones and bottles filled with gasoline were thrown at the militiamen. Many young people and even children formed part of the crowd.

The intervention of forces belonging to special Citizens' Militia units and troops restored peace in Konin about 2000 last night.

MORE ON KATOWICE STEELWORKS REFERENDUM, RESPONSE

Events Outlined

LD102000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Unattributed report from Katowice]

[Text] The results of a referendum held on 7 and 8 September by the works commission of the NSZZ Solidarity were published at the Katowice steelworks today.

The purpose of the referendum was to assess the work of Dr Eng Stanislaw Bednarczyk, and other members of the management.

The most important of the four questions asked in the referendum was this: Should Director Bednarczyk continue to hold the post of manager? An affirmative answer was given by 1,594 people; that is, less than 10 percent of the voters. A negative answer was given by 9,851 workers of the steelworks; 1,041 people did not express any opinion. A total of 12,309 people took part in the referendum.

The issue of the no-confidence vote will be resolved by the future workers' self-management. The results of the referendum were published during a mass meeting held outside the main gates of the Katowice steelworks. About 4,000 workers attended this meeting.

This morning a meeting between the representatives of the management of the Katowice steelworks and the works' commission of the NSZZ Solidarity was held in the administrative building. Zbigniew Szalajda, minister of metallurgy and engineering industry, attended the meeting. A separate statement will be issued on the meeting.

The party aktiv of the Katowice steelworks met at 1300 today and those present acquainted themself with the resolution of the party factory committee. The resolution reads, in part:

We are resolved to defend the legal order in force in our socialist state; we confirm the correctness of the standpoint of the PZPR factory committee defining the damaging character of the activity of the NSZZ Solidarity commission. We shall not allow any spread of arbitrariness--we read in the resolution--in the further discrediting of managerial cadres, destruction of honest people or creation by the workforce of a climate of fear and blackmail. We do not recognize the so-called referendum held under pressure, and including tendentious questions. Nor do we recognize its real and published results. We appeal to all party organizations in the country to support our struggle fought in the just cause of respecting law and discipline, in defense of the dignity of honest cadres, of socialism in Poland.

During the meeting the standpoint of the works' commission of the Union of Foundrymen was also presented. The members of this union opposed the method of settling conflicts which was used at the works.

A press conference organized by the works' commission of NSZZ Solidarity and attended by Polish and foreign journalists took place this afternoon.

Party Aktiv Protests

LD110732 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Excerpts] Before the main gate of the Huta Katowice works, a mass meeting took place today organized by the works commission of NSZZ Solidarity, at which the results of the referendum conducted by this union on 7-8 September concerning the chief director of the plant were announced.

Immediately after the mass meeting a press conference of the works committee of Solidarity took place, with the participation of national and foreign journalists, as well as radio and television teams. The team from television news was forbidden to enter the conference.

Meanwhile the party aktiv of the metallurgical combine of the Huta Katowice works decisively and unequivocally supports the statement by the minister of metallurgy and engineering industry concerning the illegal and unjustified referendum imposed on the workforce by the works commission of Solidarity.

The campaign unleashed against the chief director of Huta Katowice constitutes an expression of adventurism and a lack of civic responsibility, states the resolution of the party aktiv of the steelworks.

Also, the directors of 20 metalworks, grouped together in the association of iron and steel works, have expressed a firm protest against the unjustified campaign unleashed against Stanislaw Bednarczyk, the chief director of the Huta Katowice.

KATOWICE INFORMATION BULLETIN SUSPENDS PUBLICATION

LD109132 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Today the directorate of the Huta Katowice enterprise and the NSZZ Solidarity works commission signed a decision on the basis of which the printing of the information bulletin WOLNY ZWIAZKOWIEC is suspended in the enterprise until the court proceedings against the editor in chief of this bulletin have been completed.

PAP REPORT ON SOLIDARITY LEAFLET ACITIVITES

AU101049 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 81 p 2

[PAP report: "A Spontaneous Reflex?"]

[Text] The information bulletin issued by the press bureau of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity on the morning of 6 September contains the KKP press spokesman's request for a most extensive circulation in the individual regions of the following text in the form of a leaflet: "The KKP working group proposes that the following slogans should be used for a leaflet and poster action in the [given] region: 1. TV lies, under the protection of the militia. In Krakow the militia detained the people who pasted the posters stating 'tv lies.' 2. Keep an eye on a thief--ask for authorization [autoryzachja] from the TV newscast (DTV). 3. TV is lying about the reasons for its absence from the [Solidarity] congress, but would it tell the truth about it? 4. The TV newscast--keep an eye on the cheat. 5. 1930--keep an eye on TV. 6. The government has broken off talks on TV coverage of the congress--why is it lamenting the absence of radio and TV at the congress?"

Is this supposed to illustrate the "spontaneous reflexes" about which the KKP press spokesman often speaks?

UNION OF MILITARY PERSONNEL HOLDS PLENUM

LD101938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] A 2-day plenum of the Main Board of the NSZZ of Armed Services Personnel ended in Warsaw. During the session, members of this union had a meeting with the plenipotentiary of the minister of national defense in charge of affairs of the civilian personnel. The plenum passed a resolution outlining its position with regard to the most important problems in the country and defining the most important issues the union should deal with.

INDUSTRIAL BRANCH TUS DISAVOW POLITICAL AMBITIONS

LD101902 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] The Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions has issued a statement which reads, in part: In the current situation in the country it is necessary to have partner-like cooperation among all forces to find a way out of the economic and social crisis.

As far as its program is concerned, the confederation does not lean toward any political parties, as it regards trade union activities as nonpolitical. Its supreme principle is the acceptance of all views which have one thing in common: concern for the proper protection of working people's interests. Representatives of the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions meet with all leaders of parties and plan to hold similar meetings with representatives of leading social organizations and other trade union centers. The confderation is not a political party and has no intention of becoming one.

RAKOWSKI ADDRESSES GLIWICE MEETING ON SOLIDARITY

Mining Representatives

LD101746 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] A meeting of participants in the ninth party congress, delegates from Katowice Voivodship, and representatives from mines and industrial mining enterprises with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski began at 1000 at Sosnica colliery in Gliwice. During the first part of the meeting Mieczyslaw Rakowski took the rostrum. He described the political and economic situation in the country. This was followed by a discussion.

Rakowski Speech

LD110945 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2120 GMT 10 Sep 81

["Extensive Excerpts" of speech by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski on 10 September in Gliwice--recorded]

[Excerpts] We shall not do anything at the top with the best decrees, with the best directives or with the most resolute attitude unless there is active support at the bottom, as the expression goes. What does active support mean at present in our situation? This is not a matter of shouting out that we are right. In my opinion, active support today still means, above all, the struggle for people's minds; that is, the struggle for every person; that is, convincing him when in our opinion he is wrong. In very many instances many impressions about the situation in our country and about our policy are based either on lies and on misrepresentations or on such popularly bandied about catchwords which are not only not rebuffed by party members but are also repeated. So answering the question, "what is activity to be based on?" I think that it is to be based mainly on the struggle for people's minds. In my view the next few years in general will be taken up with a steadfast struggle whose purpose will be the gaining of confidence, the regaining of lost confidence. I think that no party members who consciously join the party should have any illusions that the political situation in which we find ourselves will undergo such a change one fine day or one fine month and that we shall again, as it were, be able to breathe freely without the feeling that again tomorrow it will be necessary to squabble and argue with someone.

Generally speaking, Poland has certainly entered a new phase of development not only in the economic sector but also in the policy sector. And even under the best of circumstances, if we develop in the next few years without any great conflicts or upheavals, then in any case the political situation in the sense of what we are used to and in the sense of activities will not return to what it was in the 1970's.

We still do not have breakthroughs in the style of party work yet. Of course, I do not deny the achievements of individual party organizations (?or) of leading teams at various levels which are restless and which are seeking new methods of work, who can already enter into dialogue and who go out boldly to the public. But generally speaking I do not feel personally that the party is any longer the force which is (?on the offensive), which has markedly changed its position in the country after the 9th congress. This still continues to be the task facing us. I think that there will be more questions on this subject and I will be prepared to answer them.

The other force which has been functioning for a year in our sociopolitical system is Solidarity with which, of course, I have much to do since I conduct talks. I am very grateful to some Solidarity leaders because no one is making my name more famous than they are. Well, how does the situation appear in general with this new creation which appeared as a result of the August events? One could speak for hours on this subject, of course, but generally speaking the situation was as follows, from the beginning, in August, for instance:

If one follows these events from August then one can state that the leaders of this organization, or rather the leaders of the strike in the coastal area, did not basically expect--they have said this themselves and I repeat this--such success. In any case I do not know if you know that originally it was assumed that Solidarity would exist only in the Gdansk area. They did not expect such success. In other words they did not take into account that the party, the government force in Poland had gone so much onto the defensive. And in the next few months, I am thinking of the autumn of last year and the spring of this year, Solidarity was strengthening as an organization and was extending its influence. It was, in fact, going from success to success having the support, I think, of surely the bulk of the public for various reasons and on various grounds. This support undoubtedly also stemmed from the great dissatisfaction with the situation which had existed in the last few years of the past 10-year period. I said "great" because later this dissatisfaction, in my view, was deliberately exaggerated and foisted onto us as the general national point of view of everyone.

You perhaps remember the thesis that the past 10-year period is one big heap of misfortune, that there was nothing good in this 10-year period, and that this is a period in which Poland was brought to ruin. This thesis gained acceptance exceptionally quickly. Well, it was then supplemented in those extreme assessments that the whole of the 36-year period in general must be thrown onto the rubbish heap because the communists had quite simply been messing up the whole of this postwar period and had left only ruins behind them. I am not exaggerating this assessment because such assessments were in circulation and they still are in circulation. I have been and continue to be an opponent of throwing things onto the rubbish heap--not just the 36-year period, for this is my life and my struggles and the lives and struggles of more than one of you present here, (I think that I am not mistaken here), for there are quite a few people here who began their lives after the war. I am also an opponent of such a unilateral assessment of the 10-year period--that it was fit for throwing away int the dump and that there was nothing of any value there.

Even the day before yesterday I visited Starachowice where I was shown two sections at the truck factory. The director was taking around a whole crowd of people there and they were boasting that this was absolutely world standard.

[Words indistinct] the vehicle fleet was set up here in 1963 and 1964. Perhaps this fact in itself does not give us grounds to voice the opinion that not everything was worthless. Perhaps this is a tiny example but it is enough to look around us and come to the conclusion that it is not true [that everything was worthless].

Moreover, if we are speaking about that decade, the problem is not that the policy initiated by Gierek in 1971 was wrong; the policy was absolutely right. Indeed, who can abandon such a goal as the modernization of industry and the general modernization of Poland? Was it possible to abandon the conception of an accelerated development of Poland? The more so, since there was stagnation in many sectors toward the end of the sixties, or maybe not so much stagnation but rather--as the saying goes--the peasant-like [siermiezny] socialism of Gomulka who was, for instance, opposed to motorization and who considered a bicycle enough; or when the change of prices was discussed in December 1950 and when, among other things, it was decided to raise the price of coal, somebody said that it was impossible to raise the price because the peasants who now used coal for their production, in particular in animal breeding, and for boiling potatoes, would not be interested in producing more if the price were raised.

Gomulka replied to this: Before the war they gathered dry twigs, and everything was all right. But Poland outgrew long ago this era of gathering dry twigs, even if we sometimes have to gather dry twigs in addition.

The problem is that the first great crack in the entire economic policy started in 1974, that is, with the first changes on the world market caused by the increase in oil prices. This is the first instance when the leaders of economic life in Poland should immediately have begun to take heed, to switch on the red warning lights on the investment front and to start making a real reduction on the investment front. Most of the adversities which we are currently facing are caused merely by an excessively developed investment front which was being maintained when there were no objective conditions for doing so. But the conceit of Gierek himself and his team was so huge that all those warning signals were regarded merely as unimportant. Basically since the mid-seventies these phenomena have been accelerating in Poland's organism and in my opinion, they were bound to end like this. This was unavoidable.

Well, to return to Solidarity now: There is no doubt that this path from one success to another convinced the Solidarity leaders that it is possible to go continually from strength to strength. It was bound to widen and extend the ambitions of these leaders who today do not even want to be reminded that they are only a trade union. Please pay attention to the fact that this organization was born as a trade union and not as a social force, as they have been portraying themselves for some time now. It was to have been a trade union. Recently, for instance, someone was very vocal in Gdansk, shouting: "They won't succeed in making us help to lift potatoes or onions!"

Well, the atmosphere, the climate, the political conditions which arose in Poland merely encouraged Solidarity's leaders to transform this organization into a de facto political force. Well, I must tell you, this differentiation between a social force and a political force is rather spurious. What is meant by "social force" or, what are the differences between political and social force? Of course, it can be said that there are formal differences: A social force is, for instance, a mass organization whose statute does not say "we are a political movement"; and a political force is a political party which clearly defines its [word indistinct] but the differences are minimal. In fact, it is known that today Solidarity discharges the functions of a political movement. Quite obviously in a situation such as this various trends have arisen within Solidarity and these trends persist. It surely has a unionist trend which, it is clear, has ambitions not only to influence union matters, which is right and justified and that's how it should be; however, there is also a trend--and the last few days of this congress have shown it with dazzling clarity--which also has ambitions that exceed all concepts about the role of a trade union in any given socioeconomic system.

This trend creates as many opportunities as possible for confrontation. It is afraid that it cannot stop; in order to exist it has to have more and more successes. This trend cannot achieve these successes by engaging itself in issuing holiday passes or by peeling layers of the proverbial onion.

Those who represent this trend must have political successes. Where can you score them, in what area? Well, I'd say, only on our backs. This is because you can receive applause only if you knowk the authorities. Anyway, who else is there to knock around? There is no such force.

Thus an entire philosophy of negation has been created around this desire to score successes and hence support. If we analyze the activities of those who represent this trend within Solidarity, we see that, as a matter of fact, they always say "no" to all projects, ideas or proposals of ours.

It would be better if they said "yes, but...." That would not be so bad. I consider that all authority ought to meet with such a saying: Yes, but you must convince us.

However, this is not the case; that is, we have these two trends of Solidarity. In my assessment, the one is inclined to deal with vocational matters, and the second trend, about which I spoke a moment ago, distorts the first one very often, and then the whole union and all the regions act in a purely political way.

How do I assess today, a year later, the implementation of this line of accord, the chance for maintaining it, the chance for installing it within the sociopolitical situation of Poland, within a partnership setup?

Well, to tell the truth, I consider that these chances are slimmer than they were a few months ago. It is my conviction that the line of accord, that is, the line of resolving conflicts by peaceful means, by means of such instruments as negotiations, dialogue, has been seriously jeopardized in the last few months, the last 2 months practically speaking, and this jeopardy must be seen.

[Words indistinct] to conduct an exact analysis of the Solidarity leaders' policy. But undoubtedly it is threatened also because a whole number of Solidarity leaders in the last 2 months--it is no coincidence that this was after the ninth congress--have considerably stepped up their aggressiveness in relation to the party and to the representatives of the authorities.

I wish to draw your attention to the fact that even a few months ago nobody in the ranks of the Solidarity leaders was waging a struggle with the government. The government was outside this criticism: even the authorities were outside this criticism. Today and for many weeks, (?in fact) 2-3 months, the government is and has been constantly under attack.

Furthermore, a new phenomenon is undoubtedly the appearance of the problem of [word indistinct] of power. In Gdansk, well, in the work of the regional activists of Solidarity, for example, Kosmowski from Bielsko-Biala [words indistinct] said that the central matter is our assumption of power in Poland. I believe that without lengthy commentaties we should inform public opinion in Poland about the fact that at the congress the Solidarity leaders have taken a step in a very dangerous direction.

It may well be merely the case that a kind of inner mechanism is at work here. I have already spoken a little about it: the union went from success to success, and as it went along it inflicted serious defeats on the authorities. Wherever it aimed its blows the authorities either gave ground, or lost. What do we mean by "authorities?" Well, frankly speaking, we mean the PZPR and all those who hold power in this country in conjunction with the PZPR. I am thinking here of the allied parties and all sorts and kinds of allies. Well, it is not to be ruled out that this atmosphere of success created mechanisms within the union which pushed the union to gain more and more points. In fact, I am surprised that Solidarity's advisers who graduated from more than one department and who are well experienced in politics do nothing about telling those leaders of Solidarity's regions and others who dream of taking over power to get it into their heads what the possible consequences of this kind of aspiration are.

I bear no grudge against some Solidarity leaders who shout out various kinds of slogans from that rostrum in Gdansk, slogans against the authorities, or about gaining power, but I do have a grudge against intellectuals active within the union because they do not define the limits. They do not set bounds. After all, the congress delegates will now be returning home. For 2 weeks they will convey the knowledge and opinions they learned at the congress; thus they will raise the temperature of the political mood to an even higher level again; they will thus merely create or extend the state of nervousness, the state of tension which makes it possible for more and more new conflicts to erupt.

Incidentally, I am convinced that more strikes will be called in the period between [the two meetings of] the congress. One reason for this is that in this whole strike action there exists a kind of rivalry among Solidarity leaders: he who can show he has a strike to his credit is good; a strike which knocked the authorities about.

Well, this rivalry is something we all have to pay a price for. It is not just the government that loses here; we all do. But I am afraid this will be the direction events will take in the next few weeks.

Yet I personally see an increase in criticism, especially among those who think, against these Solidarity initiatives. We hear this in various kinds of statements and see it in letters which people write me. There is, for instance, an altogether new phenomenon: Solidarity members write letters to Walesa or to the National Consultative Commission and send me copies of these letters. Even 1-2 months ago you did not have this. These letters are critical of the adventurist policies, those that fail to take the Polish facts of life into account, and so on and so forth.

I repeat: With the aid of all methods at our disposal we will seek peaceful solutions. However, I also want to say, for I want you to know, that we will also pursue firm policies. We will not give up on certain issues, not least because we are up against the wall. We cannot yield more concessions and give more ground: There is simply no room for this. I am of the opinion that in the interest of socialist renewal, in the interest of preserving the line of agreement, we must define clearly our position wherever we can, so that no one in our country harbors any illusions about our position, so that no one has any illusions believing that we will perform like trained circus animals. We have no such objective possibilities. In the interests of the Polish nation, in the interests of its position in Europe and in the interests of the Polish state, we cannot do this. If more unjustified concessions are made, it is clear it will be tantamount to departing from and breaking the line of agreement and going over to confrontation by force, a trial of strength.

I also want to say that this is already a bit of a lost game for me personally, since I assumed it was possible to create in Poland such a political arrangement in which an independent union force would function and keep a constant eye on the authorities, since authorities must be controlled, absolutely.

The problem is the definition of the limits of this control: Where does control end and struggle for power begin? This is a theoretical and practical issue for our socialist structures. To date, our partners who have recently taken to saying "opponents" when they talk about us--"opponents," no other word is used--have not helped us define this limit. Rather, they make this limit fluid, flowing into activities which bear all the signs of a struggle for power.

Yes, I can speak about this freely and openly, because I myself was the author of this concept of a partner-like relationship. You remember my article entitled "Respect the Partner" addressed to the authorities. I do not retract one word from this article. However, I must write the second part of this article: The partner, too, must respect the other partner, that is, those who represent the people's state.

Rakowski Interview

LD102154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Interview by unidentified correspondent with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski following his meeting at the Sosnica colliery in Gliwice with delegates to the Ninth PZPR Congress--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr Premier, this meeting has taken place 2 months after the congress.

[Answer] Yes, I simply thought it was necessary to meet the delegates, delegates who work in mines, so that I could tell them what I think of the situation in the country and listen to their opinions; I deliberately chose a group of delegates of the coal industry, from mines. Although you were present at the hall, you probably did not hear me encourage them to extract more coal--for I did not; I have not come here to do this, since they themselves know what can be done to obtain more of this coal.

It is simply that during the congress, in the lobbies, I got to know many mining delegates It is the first meeting of this kind I have had. I wish to (?meet) with various communities; next time I go to Katowice it will be to meet delegates of the steelworking industry; then I will go somewhere else in Poland.

This is because I want them to know that there is simply this lasting link, a kind of contact between those people up top and those here. I want them to know that this link, this contact, did not come to an end with the ending of the party congress.

[Question] Mr Premier, in this hall you have omitted the government's position on certain questions. Surely you must have heard many opinions of miners regarding certain tasks the government is facing. What sticks in your mind most?

[Answer] Maybe this: that most of those who spoke, demand, I would say, a decisive policy, or a kind of courageous attitude toward all controversial issues taking place in our country. Many of them demanded resolute action against any and all nonsocialist tendencies and their supporters.

[Question] And you support this kind of attitude?

[Answer] Me? Yes, of course I do, because I think that if we really wish to preserve the renewal program in Poland, if we really want to change the sociopolitical and economic conditions in such a way that there will never again be a crisis, then we must liquidate this crisis. This is not facilitated by the forces which, simply, have a different program, one which is capable of bringing yet another drama or dramatic event upon the country. That is why I support their views that it is necessary to be active against forces which wish to weaken Polish socialism. Well, anyway, I am attached to this system, I was brought up in it, I am a communist--(?why shouldn't I support the idea of opposing those who come out against this system?).

[Question] To conclude our talk--an issue to do with the topic of the day, a topic that figures in all conversations, namely the appeal issued by Solidarity's first congress to the nations of the socialist countries.

[Answer] I am of the opinion that this appeal to the nations of the socialist countries is, unfortunately, a very tragic political move, since this appeal also contains an appeal to--well, let us call it the opposition elements in those countries, or else elements viewed as such there. Doubtless, it will not be received other than as interference in the internal affairs of those countries; it can only bring about fresh troubles for us. I am of the opinion that this was, simply, a very irresponsible step.

OLSZOWSKI WARNS AGAINST BROADCASTING TAKEOVER

LD102310 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Sep (PAP)--The PUWP CC Ideological Commission today discussed the political situation in mass media. Participants in the meeting pointed to duties of the press, radio and TV in combating, first and foremost, all forms of propaganda hostile to socialism. They put a special stress on the necessity of firmly opposing the attempts to stage strikes in the press, radio and TV.

The discussion was summed up by Stefan Olszowski. Speaking about the announced protest actions, he pointed out that in fact "struggle for access to radio and television" in reality meant the striving to take over the state system of broadcasting information.

PZPR OFFICIALS, NEWSMEN DISCUSS SELF-MANAGEMENT

LD101938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] On the initiative of the party Central Committee Press, Radio and Television Department, a meeting was held today between journalists who specialize in the problems connected with workers' self-management and Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo, and Marian Wozniak, Central Committee secretary. Topical problems relating to workers' self-management were discussed.

SIWAK ATTENDS PIOTRKOW FACTORY WORKERS' MEETING

LD102306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] In the Piotrkow Construction combine, Albin Siwak, Politburo member, deputy chairman of the Main Board of the NSZZ Construction, Industry and Housebuilding Cooperative Employees, was present today.

During the meeting with members of the workforce of this combine, Albin Siwak reported on the course of the debates of the second and third plenums of the party Central Committee.

MESSNER CHAIRS KATOWICE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL SESSION

LD101926 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Today's session of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council was devoted to an assessment of the voivodship's socioeconomic situation and to the tasks stemming from this situation for the state and economic administration. The proceedings, in which representatives of the trade unions also took part, were conducted by Zbigniew Messner, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Voivodship People's Council. The results of the implementation of the plan for the first half of the year which were presented during the session point to a marked deterioration in the situation compared to last year in all sectors of the economy. Production in the industrial plants of this region has dropped by 14.8 percent as against the first half of last year. The councillors pointed to the fact, among others, that the deterioration of the economic conditions in the economy of the voivodship and the increasingly difficult living conditions of its inhabitants are, along with objective circumstances, also the result of an attitude of shirking responsibility for decisions by enterprise managers who, waiting for the introduction of the economic reform, are acting too slowly in carrying out the necessary changes in the management system.

The resolution which was adopted makes it incumbent on the leadership cadre of all economic units to undertake, together with self-government organs, more effective actions aimed at improving management efficiency and increasing production and labor discipline. A resolution was also adopted on withdrawing mandates of councillors of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council from Zdzislaw Grudzien, Henryk Rochowicz, Wieslaw Kiczan, Gerard Kroczek and Stanislaw Gurgul.

SEJM COMMISSION DISCUSSES ECONOMIC REFORM

LD101836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] The Sejm Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances held discussions today on the draft directions of the economic reform.

Presenting the draft reform submitted to the Sejm, the government plenipotentiary for matters of economic reform, Minister Wladyslaw Baka, said that for the first time in the history of our state a program for such a comprehensive economic reform has come into being.

According to the minister, it is even possible [words indistinct] five basic groups of the proposed reform. The first group is the course toward self-management, independence and self-financing of the enterprises. The second group is the consolidation of central planning, through the concentration of its function on strategic matters. The third group concerns the combining of the independent and self-governing interests of the work-forces with the general interests of the community. The fourth group is that of community and social problems. Finally, group five concerns the proposed directions of economic reform, connected with the problems of institutional and organizational changes.

During the discussion the deputies spoke critically of the overly prolonged legislative work regarding the draft of this bill.

CZYREK BRIEFS SEJM COMMISSION ON FOREIGN POLICY

LD102020 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Sep (PAP)--Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek today briefed the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee on current problems of Poland's foreign policy.

He discussed the significance of foreign activities for the implementation of the programme of the 9th PUWP Congress in the complex international and internal situation. Poland's foreign policy has an important role to play in the nation's efforts to get the country out of the crisis. The continuation of efforts to protect Poland's economic interests in relations with abroad is especially important.

The preservation of Poland's international position is of priority importance in relations with fraternal socialist countries. This task calls for the consistent strengthening and development of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries the alliance with which is a guarantee of Poland's security, independence and inviolability of her borders. It is necessary to ensure an indispensable contribution to the consolidation of the Warsaw Treaty and its strivings in favour of detente and disarmament.

In both these fields Poland has played a remarkable, internationally recognized role. Also today we want to carry on this basic line of our foreign policy which has been and despite current difficulties continues to be one of important factors of Poland's international position.

Minister Czyrek pointed to the attempts of some political forces in the West to use Polish events for aims directed against the vital interests of the Polish nation and detente, to justify theatre nuclear and neutron weapons, to undermine the unity of the socialist states.

Czyrek complained that some resolutions and statements at the Solidarity congress amount to undertaking activities aimed at the Polish reason of state and meddling into internal affairs of other states. A particularly important thing now was to undertake indispensable political and diplomatic actions so that not to let the playing of the "Polish card" for hampering the detente processes, attempts at changing the alignment of forces and disturbing Poland's relations of alliance with the socialist states.

The minister next said that the talks he had had in Paris and Bonn served the implementation of essential tasks of Polish foreign policy, the tightening of cooperation with France and normalization and development of relations with the FRG. The talks concerned also basic issues of detente and arms limitation in Europe, some aspects of the Madrid meeting and the convening of the conference on detente and disarmament in Europe.

Referring to the already completed so-called operation of family reunion, the deputies said that Poland fully implemented the aggreements signed in Helsinki and granted permission for moving to the FRG to nearly 140,000 persons. In justified cases further permissions can be granted.

Deputies stated also that the FRG continues to discriminate against Polish citizens, former inmates of Nazi concentration camps, in seeking redress for their suffering and disability.

FORMER OFFICIALS INDICTED FOR MISMANAGEMENT

LD101756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] The voivodship public prosecutor's office today sent the voivodship court in Krakow the indictment concerning persons involved in what is known as the Myslenice affair. The indictment accuses 11 former high-ranking officials in the administrative, and in the political and social authorities of Myslenice Parish and of Krakow of having exploited their functions to obtain personal gain. It also concerns the making of decisions about the allocation of sites for recreational construction which were contrary to the legal regulations in force. The indicted are also accused of spending social funds contrary to social interests.

JABLONSKI RECEIVES TRIBOLOGY CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS

LD101832 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, received today at the Belvedere representatives of the organizing committee of the third international congress of tribologists, which will be held in Warsaw 21-24 September.

As is known, tribology is the science which deals with the durability and reliability of machines and technological equipement. The members of the organizing committee informed Henryk Jablonski about the assumptions of their congress.

KANIA RECEIVES USSR AMBASSADOR BORIS ARISTOV

LD101708 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received today Boris Aristov, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Poland.

CZYREK PLANS VISIT TO CUBA 14-16 SEPTEMBER

LD101148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo, secretary of the party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, will pay an official friendly visit to Cuba from 14 to 16 September at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and the Cuban Government.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI VIEWS ISRAELI 'TERRORISM'

PM101331 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Aug 81 p 4

[Grazyna Dziedzinska article: "Where the Threads Lead..."]

[Text] The tragic events at the Victoria Hotel--the shots fired at PLO representative Abu Dawud--have profoundly shocked our community. Indignation has been mixed with astonishment because "after all, such things do not happen here," and "this is neither the Wild West nor New York." Nor, it could be added, Beirut, London, Paris or Brussels. And yet...following a number of attempts on the lives of PLO leaders in the aforementioned capitals, as well as other West European cities, Warsaw's turn has unfortunately come.

Furthermore, it is significant that Zionist propaganda has "somehow" reached our country, suggesting here and there that "it is merely a question of strife among Arabs" and shifting the odium of "terrorism" onto their shoulders. Abu Dawud himself gave that purposely disseminated nonsense the lie when he wrote without hesitation on a hospital form: "Israel was undoubtedly behind this attempt."

The attempt on Abu Dawud's life was the second terrorist act recently committed whose threads, as many things suggest, lead back to Israel and which was organized and carried out by Israeli intelligence. About a month before the event connected with Abu Dawud, Na'im Khadir was killed in Brussels. Na'im Khadir, 41, was one of the most influential PLO leaders and the seventh member of that organization to be assassinated in the past 10 years. The scenario of the assassination was similar to that connected with Abu Dawud. Some individual approached him, fired several shots, got into an automobile and escaped. The interpretation of that event by pro-Israeli circles in Belgium was similar to that put forward in the case of Abu Dawud--Khadir was killed by Arabs because he was a "man of dialogue." Obviously, to the uninformed this could only mean that Khadir was in favor of dialogue with Israel, and this was the aim of the people responsible for that widely disseminated lie. (Regrettably, even the Polish correspondent "succumbed" to this propaganda and reported this interpretation of a possible reason for the assassination.) However, Na'im Khadir, an eocnomist, doctor of law and lecturer at a Belgian university, was a man of dialogue with EEC countries, not Israel. That man, modest but highly regarded and very popular in West European political circles, did much for the Palestinian cause, the Palestinian nation and the PLO. The fact that West European countries have dissociated themselves to a considerable degree from the anti-Palestinian and completely pro-Israeli policy pursued by the United States and have recognized the Palestinian people's right to statehood and the PLO as its representative was largely due to the diplomatic abilities, political wisdom and authority demonstrated by Na'im Khadir, who particpated in the deliberations of the European parliament and other European forums. Obviously, these activities by Khadir could not please the Israelis, whose Prime Minister Begin thundered against Chancellor Schmidt because of the latter's statement supporting the PLO as well as against form French President V. Giscard d'Estaing for the same reason. The sentence on Na'im Khadir was passed and was carried out by Mossad.

The fact that an incident almost identical to that which occurred in Brussels took place in our country is especially painful to us Poles becuase we have always and constantly supported the just Arab cause in the Near East conflict. We have supported the Palestinian patriots' struggle for the right to a homeland and statehood. We have categorically opposed Israeli expansionism, aggression and occupation of Arab lands, especially since many of us can still remember the bloody Hitlerite occupation to which we fell victim.

The head of the Israeli regime--a former terrorist, in any case--finds it easy to combine his condemnation of the Nazis with a rather original interpretation of history--"Hatred has been a driving force in world history. The sword, not peace, has ensured mankind's progress." To avoid any misunderstanding, I have quoted Begin's statement from a pro-Israeli British periodical, THE OBSERVER.

Disregarding the well-known proverb "he who lives by the sword shall perish by the sword," which has been proved true by history, the Israeli chauvinists have continued to "live by the sword," trying to gain control over Arab countries in the Near East and make the insane vision of a "greater Israel stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates" come true. At the same time, they have ruthlessly hunted down and destroyed opponents of their aggressive policy. In 1948, the UN mediator, Count Bernadotte, who had rescued many Jews during World War II, was murdered. He was killed because he opposed the smuggling by Jews to Palestine of weapons which were used to murder the local Arab population. He assassin, the Israeli journalist Baruch Nadel still lives unmolested in Israel. A little later, the American congressman James Forrestal, who opposed any identification of U.S. policy and interests with Israel's policy and disregarded warnings by representatives of the pro-Israeli lobby, "jumped out" of a skyscraper window.

Later more murders occurred, including those perpetrated during the "night of the long knives in Beirut," which were organized by Golda Meir's notorious "death squads."

Physical and mental terror and the spread of hatred toward the Arabs -- these are the main tasks which Israel has set itself in its eagerness to make the biblical concept of a "greater Israel" come true.

In the United States, West European countries, Latin countries and so forth, these functions have often been performed by local Zionist groups which, among other things, have facilitated activities by Mossad agents in the areas where they live. Until recently, however, neither anti-Arab propaganda nor any specific anti-Arab act had spread to socialist countries, which support the Arab nations's rightful struggle. Now, however, in our own country -- Poland -- which has for many years been developing friendly contacts with the Arab countries, elements hostile to our country's and nation's fundamental interests have apparently reached the conclusion that the hour has struck and have started engaging in provocative acts. Arab embassies in Warsaw have been inundated with anonymous letters. Since we have already written on the subject at length, I will not again discuss their content in any detail. Let me remind the reader, however, that they have literally breathed hatred of the Arabs, threatened them and advised them to leave Poland. The fact that they have been signed "Polish Friends of Zion" made it quite clear what their aim was -- to drive a wedge between the Polish public and the Arabs and set us at odds with Arab countries. Anonymous letters addressed to the PLO office in Warsaw and hooligan excesses such as damaging PLO showcases containing photographs and articles illustrating the Palestinian people's life in occupied territories had an identical aim. These acts were undoubtedly also aimed at frightening Arabs residing in Poland and suggesting to them that even here, in a friendly country, they cannot feel safe. As to what inspired the writers of those anonymous letters and where the threads of their provocative acts lead, that has been made clear by the fact that they threaten Arabs that, unless they leave Poland, some misfortunes may befall their families in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan. Some passages in those anonymous letters have been identical with certain expressions utilized by Israeli propaganda in the West. In one of those letters sent to the PLO office in Warsaw you can read, for instance: "It was you who killed the pope -- it is true that he is alive, but how does he live?" An identical maneuver was carried out by Israeli propaganda immediately after the attempt on the pope's life. However, it completely misfired. Israeli propagandists have in fact sought to persuade West European public opinion that the attempt was naturally carried out by "Palestinian terrorists," and the Israeli intelligence service even offered its help in tracking them down. At the same time "by mere coincidence" Ali Agca -- a Turk -- also threw suspicion on Palestinians by seeking to convince the Itialian police that he was "trained in a Palestinian camp." This time, however, these efforts proved unsuccessful -- the Italian police did not believe this perfectly obvious fairy tale, whereas experts reached the definite conclusion that Agca had, in fact, been trained only... in giving false evidence.

To return to the anonymous letters, it is worthwhile adding that their leitmotiv is an expression of regret that for many years it has been impossible to express admiration for Israel, with a joyful addendum to the effect that it has now at last become possible to relieve one's feelings. As we can see, the "Friends of Zion" who have cowardly concealed their identify behind anonymous letters have treated the time of renewal in a rather odd manner. It is significant, however, that the "at last it is possible" motif also threaded its way through a quite official meeting with Israel poets and writers which was organized at the headquarters of the Polish Writers Union [ZLP] by the ZLP and the Korczak Society a few days after the massacre recently perpetrated by Israel in Beirut and southern Lebanon. Well, it may be said that this was a neutral, nonpolitical gathering...but was it really so? On the one hand, yes, certainly.

None of Israel's intellectual representatives mentioned even in passing the Israeli regime's criminal policy, and one of them either expressed his disagreement with or condemned those barbaric attacks against Lebanon despite the fact that the meeting took place in a country whose political principles--also with respect to the Near East--have been clearly determined. And, on the other hand, the significance of such "gems" as, for instance, the introduction of one of the poets with emphasis being placed on his "participation in all Israeli wars," which was obviously meant to elicit audience applause, was quite clear.

The following question naturally arises: Why and for whose benefit are contacts with the "heroes" of anti-Arab wars being strengthened, especially at a time when Israeli aggression and terror, which are arousing increasingly outspoken condemnation of Israel throughout the world, have greatly intensified? Is this also supposed to be a sign of a peculiarly understood "renewal?"

PAP CITES HONECKER ON COUNTRY'S CURRENT SITUATION

LD021236 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 1 Sep (PAP)--In connection with his approaching visit to Mexico Erich Honecker met in Berlin with reporters of Mexican newspapers and television.

While speaking about various international issues the GDR leader also referred to the current situation in Poland. He pointed out in particular to good relations existing between the GDR and Polish Governments, between the political parties and mass organizations as well as citizens of the two countries. "The GDR has confidence in the strength of the Polish nation, in its will to defend and consolidate attainments of socialism," he said.

"Poland knows that attempts are being made to undermine and liquidate the socialist system. External and internal anti-socialist forces are trying to change the political alignement of forces through destablization. In spite of all the differences in the points of view it was stressed once again during the extraordinary congress of the PUWP that Poland was, is, and will remain socialist," Erich Honecker stressed.

Asked about the possibility of a military intervention in Poland by socialist countries, the GDR leader replied that such speculations were made in the West only. He admitted that developments in Poland had an impact on the situation in Europe and expressed the confidence that the Polish nation would find enough strength to overcome the present crisis.

BULGARIA'S ZHIVKOV AWARDED ORDER OF MERIT

LD072320 Warsaw PAP in English 1632 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Sep (PAP)--The Polish Council of State conferred [words indistinct] the Order of Polish Merit on General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC and President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov to mark his 70th birthday and in recognition of his merits in developing and consolidating fraternal friendship between the Polish and the Bulgarian nations.

BRIEFS

COAL EXTRACTION--The Ministry of Mining and Power reports that 595,583 tons of coal were extracted yesterday. Over 589,240 tons were extracted a month ago, and 540,636 tons a year ago. This date testifies to a certain improvement, but the level of extraction is still nowhere near the level that would make it possible to satisfy even only the basic needs of the economy, not to mention export. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 9 Sep 81 LD]

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH MEETING

AU102022 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Sep (AGERPRES)--A working meeting took place at the headquarters of the CC of the RCP on September 9 and 10 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania. It was attended by cadres in farm research and education, food industry, silviculture and water husbanding.

Present were also Elena Ceausescu, Ilie Verdet, other members of the party and state leadership.

Attending the proceedings were representatives of the Ministries of Agriculture and Food Industry, Forestry and Building Materials, Education and Instruction, the National Water Management Council, the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, executives of the National Council for Science and Technology, secretaries of party committees and basic organizations of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, of research and higher learning institutes, experimental stations, directors and scientific directors of research institutes and stations, those in charge of research programmes, rectors, prorectors, deans of higher learning institutes, teaching staff, other experts in agriculture.

This meeting is part of the working meetings the RCP secretary general has with executives in the economy, experts and working people in all the sectors of material production.

The agenda included the following items:

--Report on the results and goals of scientific research, introduction of technical progress in agriculture, food industry, silviculture and water husbanding, the wider integration of research and education with production in light of the resolutions of the Twelfth RCP Congress and the recommendations Nicolae Ceausescu made during his working visits to farm units and during the working meeting held at the CC of the RCP on August 27 and 28.

--Programme of scientific research and introduction of technical progress in agriculture, food industry, silviculture and water husbanding in the 1981-1985 interval.

The proceedings took place in plenum and in sections.

During the plenary session Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, read the report included in the agenda. Executives of research institutes and stations, experts also took the floor.

118 participants took the floor in the sessions per sections.

The debates had a marked working character. The remarks made by the RCP secretary general in plenum channelled the analysis and the proposals for measures towards the fundamental problems of scientific research and development of agriculture. Analysis was made critically and self-critically of the activity carried out by the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, by the research institutes and stations, by teaching staff in higher learning, agricultural units, of the way in which they fulfilled their mission, attributions and responsibilities in promoting technical progress in agriculture, food industry, silviculture and water management, for obtaining big, constant and efficient plant and animal productions. The speakers analyzed both the achievements and the shortcomings existing in the field of scientific research which aims at ensuring the progress of agriculture, and made proposals for improved running of research activities, for introduction and generalization of the results of scientific discoveries in agriculture.

Highlighting the successes scored by scientific research, its growing contribution to the development of agriculture, to the achievement of every bigger plant and animal productions, the speakers underlined the fact that a high porential existed in that domain which was not fully capitalized, just as human and material possibilities which were not sufficiently used. In this respect, they made proposals for specific measures which should ensure a new quality to the whole activity, according to the new exigencies of the agrarian revolution, to the role this main branch of the national economy has in ensuring an ever better supply to the population, the raw materials necessary for industry and increased contribution to export.

Special attention was paid to the way in which action should be taken for applying and generalizing, without delay, the results scored by research, the new seeds, species and breeds so that premises be provided this autumn for a rapid growth of production in all units, at the level of the front-ranking ones. In this respect, the speakers pointed to the responsibility incumbent on the Academy of Agricultural Science, on research institutes, on farm bodies at all levels and experts in firmly setting and applying the technologies needed for a proper expansion of the results obtained by research work, in achieving on this basis plant and animal productions at the same high level as that reached in experimental units.

Likewise, stress was laid on the tasks and responsibilities of technicians and experts who directly work in production, of the masses of workers, cooperative farmers and peasants who ought to make an ever greater contribution to the advance of scientific research, to the wider application of the results of scientific research work, with a view to obtaining highly efficient farm outputs, to raising agriculture on to a higher level.

The speakers undertook to work with devotion and passion, with a high sense of responsibility for the steady improvement of research work in all domains, for faster expansion and generalization in production of the results scored, for a genuine integration of education with research and production, in view of continually developing and updating agriculture, enhancing its contribution to the progress of the national economy, implementing the programme of steadily raising the entire people's material and spiritual standards of living.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, took the floor at the end of the meeting.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES AL-FATAH'S SALAH KHALAF

AU102055 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Sep (AGERPRES)--On September 10, Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Salah Khalaf, member of the CC of "Al-Fatah", now on a visit to Romania.

The interview was attended by Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs.

Attending was also Khalid ash-Shaykh, permanent representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Bucharest.

During the talks reference was made to the good relations of friendship, Solidarity and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party, Socialist Romania and the Palestine Liberation Organization, between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples. The wish was expressed to develop those relations for the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration in the world.

Current international questions were approached, especially those related to the latest developments in the Middle East, to the ways and means of achieving a just and lasting peace in the region.

In that connection the need was stressed for an intensified political and diplomatic activity so that the Middle East situation should be settled with the participation of all the sides concerned, the PLO included as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and a global just and durable peace achieved in the region on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war, from the Arab section of Jerusalem included, the settlement of the Palestinian people's issue on the basis of its right to self-determination and to set up its own independent state in which it should order its life freely in keeping with its inalienable national rights.

Warmly thanking Nicolae Ceausescu for his support to the cause of the Palestinian people the guest was highly appreciative of the policy promoted by the Romanian Communist Party, by Socialist Romania, by the leader of the Romanian party and state personally in support of the achievement of the Palestinian people's right to its own independent state.

Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted the determination of the Romanian Communist Party, of the Romanian Government and people to further support the just cause of the Palestinian people, its struggle for establishing an equitable peace in the Middle East.

The interview passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

JOINT COMMISSION WITH MAROCCO BEGINS SESSION

AU102014 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Sep (AGERPRES)--The proceedings of the Romanian-Moroccan Intergovernmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation started in Bucharest on September 10. The proceedings are chaired by Stephan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and M'hamed Boucetta, minister of state in charge of foreign affairs and cooperations of the Kingdom of Morocco, co-chairmen of the commission.

Official talks started the same day between the two foreign ministers.

Satisfaction was expressed on the occasion at the positive evolution of the relations between Romania and Morocco, at the development and diversification of economic, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation. The possibilities were highlighted offered by the economies of the two countries of intensifying and dynamizing economic and technical cooperation in numerous fields of activity, just as of increasing, on mutually advantageous bases, the Romanian-Moroccan commercial exchanges.

The foreign ministers of Romania and Morocco agreed upon a series of tangible measures for dynamizing the negotiations under way on the building in cooperation of units in mining, hydropower, machine building, iron and steel sectors and for identifying new domains and actions of cooperation in production and in other fields, taking into account the resources and the economic and human potential of the two countries, the provisions of the current and future economic development plans of Romania and Morocco.

Modalities were examined of expanding the exchange of goods and services between the two countries which should lend an ascending course to these activities.

The ministers also established that negotiations should be finalized at the present session of the commission which are meant to lead to the broadening of the juridical framework for the stimulation of the Romanian-Moroccan trade and cooperation.

Opinions were exchanged by the two foreign ministers on current international issues. Highlighting the good collaboration existing between Romania and Morocco in the world arena, they decided to take further action for deepening and expanding that cooperation.

The Romanian foreign minister gave a dinner in honour of the minister of state in charge of foreign affairs and cooperations of Morocco. During the dinner the two ministers proposed toasts to the health of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and of the King Hassan II of Morocco, to the steady development of the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries, to progress and welfare, to peace and understanding among peoples.

On September 10, the minister of mines, Ion Lazarescu, had an interview with M'hamed Boucetta. During the talk, fresh ways and possibilities were examined of expanding and diversifying the economic cooperation between the two countries in mining.

NEW CEAUSESCU BOOK ON ROLE OF SCIENCE PUBLISHED

AU031906 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Sep (AGERPRES)--The Political Publishing House of Bucharest brought out a new volume in the series "From the Socio-Political Thinking of Romania's President, Nicolae Ceausescu": "Science-Progress-Peace."

The work brings to the fore the dimensions of the Romanian president's conception with regard to the role science plays in the social life, in cooperation, in ensuring all peoples' progress, as well as peace and security in the world. The numerous ideas, the multiple measures advanced emphasize one of President Ceausescu's characteristic features, namly that of a lucid conscience of the epoch sensible to its major questions, open to its great aspirations, constantly concerned for the huge creative potential of the contemporary world to serve man alone, his welfare and peace.

The volume attests to the high appreciation of the leader of the RCP and the Romanian state of the national, progressive traditions of science and highlights the contributions the Romanian scientists made to the treasure of human knowledge, the exceptional role they played in the pioneer stage of some branches of science and technology. The book is a message whereby the Romanian scientists of today are called upon to be up to these illustrious traditions.

The work lays special stress on the influence of science and today's social development when it became an inseparable part of material production, an important force of production. As the volume highlights, Romania's president considers that science plays a primordial role in ensuring the speeded-up progress of the country, promotes a policy of development of national research, and guides these researches towards the solving of the major questions of the Romanian society. Among the factors which condition the progress of scientific research--President Ceausescu shows--prime place is held by the qualities of the scientist, by the deontological aspects of the scientific research. Likewise, the volume approaches questions related to the efficiency of scientific research. The volume also highlights the role of science in the people's development, the free access to the gains of modern science and technology of a deep-going humanist significance is the idea that science and technology must not be the object of the monopolistic policy and service the exercise of pressure, actions of domination and exploitation of the underdeveloped or developing countries but, on the contrary, they must be placed in the service of collaboration, provide for the bridging of gaps and the building of a new international economic order.

The volume draws the attention of scientists, of all the readers owing to the deep-going analyses of the current and future questions of the development of science, of the existing connections among science, progress and peace.

Bucharest, September 3, 1981.

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON SECRETARY HAIG'S UPCOMING VISIT

LD101622 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The visit by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig to Yugoslavia is of multi-facet significance. First, it represents a confirmation of the continuity of the good and friendly relations which have for many years characterized cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States. Secondly, it is the first contact at such a high level between the Government of Yugoslavia and the new U.S. administration of President Reagan. Finally, the talks which will take place in Belgrade between Alexander Haig and Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affaris, will, we believe, contribute to the continued promotion and consolidation of Yugoslav-U.S. cooperation on the bases which have been set out previously in the talks which President Tito had with President Reagan's predecessors.

As is well known, Yugoslavia has always attached great significance to the development and promotion of friendly relations with the United States. In this respect, at least as regards Yugoslavia, nothing has changed from the standpoint of the new U.S. administration either, we believe, on cooperating with Yugoslavia in all spheres of mutual interest. After all, the very fact that Alexander Haig is coming on an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia is sufficient proof of the fact that relations between the two countries are on an upward trend.

The essence of Yugoslav-U.S. relations does not lie so much in the differences and similarities which exist between the two very different countries, but in both sides' readiness and interest in promoting jointly that which is good in those relations, that is, eliminating differences and misunderstandings through equitable dialogue.

The international positions of Yugoslavia and the United States are essentially different, and the differing approaches to topical international problems burdening the world situation arise from this. Such differences have existed before between the two countries, but they have never threatened their traditional friendship and cooperation. A large number of problems will be discussed by Alexander Haig and Josip Vrhovec. Also, there is interest in discussing Yugoslav-U.S. relations comprehensively with a view to their continued development and promotion. The world situation demands responsible behavior by all countries, particularly the big powers, in the maintenance of peace and equitable international cooperation. International peace is dangerously threatened and now is the last moment when the continued deterioration of the world situation can be stopped. Yugoslavia, as a country which does not belong to either bloc, is doing everything it can in this direction, and believes that other countries, especially the bloc countries, do not have a more pressing task than the struggle for a lasting and stable peace in the world. Bloc confrontation and the arms race cannot bring good to anyone, regardless of the reasons by which they are justified.

Yugoslavia's foreign policy is well known to the United States, as is its social system. The United States also knows that Yugoslavia plays an important role in the world and is familiar with Yugoslavia's readiness to cooperate with all countries on equitable bases. Yugoslavia's relations with the United States are also founded on these principles. After all, the United States long ago accepted the standpoint that Yugoslav nonalignment is our lasting orientation and that Yugoslavia's security is an integral part of general European and world security. We believe that President Ronald Reagan's government will also follow such a policy in relation to Yugoslavia. Haig's visit confirms this, and as regards the progress and outcome of the talks in Belgrade, we are convinced that they will be very successful and useful to both sides.

KRAIGHER RECEIVES NEW U.S. ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

LD101210 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Sep (TANJUG)--Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, received the credentials today of David Anderson, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States, and then engaged in a friendly conversation with him. Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Ivan Dolnicar, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency; and others were present at the reception.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY PCI'S BERLINGUER

Communique Issued

LD082000 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Sep (Tanjug)--The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and the Italian Communist Party (PCI) have reiterated their conviction that cooperation among communist and workers parties, all progressive and democratic forces and states must be founded on full respect for the principles of sovereignty, equality and non-interference.

The above is set out in the joint communique of the LCY and the PCI released here in Belgrade today at the close of the three-day visit to Yugoslavia of PCI Secretary-General Enrico Berlinguer. During the visit, Berlinguer conferred with LCY Presidency President Lazar Mojsov and other prominent LCY officials.

The LCY and the PCI underline that each party is responsible to its own working class and people and has the inalienable right freely and independently to chose the forms and contents of its struggle for social progress and socialism.

Lazar Mojsov informed his guest about the LCY activity at the internal and international levels and dwelt in particular on preparations for the 12th LCY Congress. Berlinguer, for his part, spoke about the democratic alternative advocated by the PCI.

It was assessed that cooperation between the LCY and the PCI is a major contribution to the development of relations between the two neighbouring countries. The exchange of views, the communique states, confirmed the identity or great closeness of the two parties views and stands on all the questions discussed.

The two parties resolve was underlined to intensify, in cooperation with other progressive and democratic world forces, their efforts for checking unfavourable trends in international relations. In this framework, the communique states, the LCY and the PCI view disarmament as one of the major problems. The two sides particularly urged the affirmation and expansion of the policy of detente with the participation of all countries.

In this context, the importance was underlined of the role the Movement of Non-Alignment plays, as an independent and non-bloc factor, in the present international situation. Accent was placed also on the role which Europe, the European left and European Democratic forces, themselves, can play in this respect.

It was assessed that detente is in a crisis, that the old and newly emerged crisis hotbeds have not been eliminated and that the position of the developing countries deteriorates further. The two sides assessed that all this seriously endangers world peace and security and threatens with new jolts and conflicts.

The conviction was stated that the further affirmation of the policy of active and peaceful coexistence is indispensable for peace and security in the world and that it is the sole stable and lasting foundation for equitable cooperation among all states, regardless of their social order.